

JUNE 1951
TWENTY CENTS

American FEDERATIONIST



*Does Stalin Dare Lift the Curtain?
Substandard Wages in Inflation
It's Time to Start Training for '52*

FRANK EDWARDS



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The American FEDERATIONIST

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India's Plight

Never have I seen a people reveal so obviously a state of malnutrition. One looked in vain for an Indian who was physically well covered. Many who have homes have to be satisfied with one room. Plenty have the sky for roof. They have nothing to lose unless it be the wretched rags which cover their emaciated bodies.

Trade unions are growing sparse. Unfortunately, the workers are not throwing up their own leaders. Those they have are men who have been to college and who have never experienced a day's manual work in their lives.

This means that the movement is top-heavy, has no roots. It also means that agreements have little or no conscious backing from the rank and file. It is a normal thing that a whole string of proposals can be made, receive consideration, settlements attained, and within three months the whole business repeats itself.

The agricultural workers, who number 80 per cent of the total, have not been touched by trade unions. They still exist in a condition of feudalism and worse. In the villages they live in huts of mud or wattle, which have a small aperture through which the family crawls to sleep. There is no sanitation, roads thick with dust in dry seasons and lakes of mud in the monsoon, which maroons them as securely as if surrounded by a wall. Theirs is a plight pitiable enough to make men and angels weep.

India, up till now, has been living in the past, worshiping the old monuments and resting in their ancient glory. Yet none of the more developed countries can afford to ignore India. There is enough inflammable material there to set the world ablaze at any time.

Let us hope, for the sake of the millions of her unhappy people, that India will face up to the task and successfully overcome it.

H. L. Bullock

THIS MONTH'S COVER

The American labor movement doesn't merely advocate democracy—it practices democracy. In American labor, free speech is not a theory but a fact. The illustration is an artist's impression of an interesting moment in an A. F. of L. city central body meeting. The scene is similar in meetings of local unions.

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THE COUNCIL AT CHICAGO

MEETING in Chicago, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor last month appealed to Congress to provide stronger enforcement machinery for price controls and to tighten price and rent curbs for the protection of all Americans during the emergency. The current efforts of Big Business to scuttle all controls were branded "selfish and dangerous."

The Executive Council said that labor would shortly submit proposals to Congress for amendments to the Defense Production Act based on the principle of "equality of sacrifice."

"To talk at this time of terminating the national emergency and discarding emergency controls," the Council declared in a statement, "is to indulge in wishful thinking. Under normal conditions the American Federation of Labor would be the first to fight against government economic controls and to insist upon a free economy, unhampered by regimentation.

"But when our national security and the peace of the world are imperiled, all Americans must be ready to make sacrifices for the common good."

Calling for a strengthened Defense Production Act, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor said: "The kind of price control we have thus far experienced is largely a sham and a deception of the public."

The Executive Council endorsed the efforts of the Office of Price Stabilization to control the prices of cattle and beef sold at wholesale and retail and urged Congress not to bow to the clamor and threats of the profiteers.

"The meat regulations constitute the first serious attempt on the part of the government to protect American consumers from profiteering during the national emergency," the Council said.

Under no circumstances should our government recognize the Chinese Communists or permit their entry into the United Nations, the Executive Council declared. The Council called for the imposition of economic sanctions by the free world against Communist China, the strengthening

of Formosa, more military aid in Korea from other members of the United Nations and the use of 30,000 Chinese Nationalist troops in the Korean fighting.

A statement issued by the Council said:

"The war in Korea is a war planned, plotted and prepared by the imperialist ruling class of Russia as an organic part of its drive to conquer all Asia and thereby hasten Soviet domination of the entire world. * * * Our country should set the pace in rallying the other free peoples in applying not only an arms embargo but also rigid economic sanctions against Communist China so as to reduce its military potential and thereby hasten the end of hostilities on the Korean peninsula. * * *

"Our country should continue to

give military aid to the Chinese National government based on Formosa with a view of preventing its seizure by the Communists. The U.S. should also continue to give economic aid to Formosa. * * * The U.S. should not commit itself to a war on the continent of Asia. We stress this though we heartily sympathize with the aspirations of the National government to speed the liberation of the Chinese mainland from the traitorous and terrorist Communist dictatorship and its masters in Moscow. * * *

"Our government should vigorously reaffirm its policy of unstinting support for restoring to the Chinese people their full national independence and territorial integrity."

The Council urged that the peace treaty with Japan take into "primary considera- (Continued on Page 31)



President Green and Charles MacGowan at testimonial dinner in honor of the highly respected president of the Boilermakers in Chicago last month. Mr. Green and others warmly praised the veteran union leader.

Substandard Wages in Inflation

By BORIS SHISHKIN

Economist, American Federation of Labor

THE inflationary tide, which first swept the American economy a year ago, threatens a further rise. The first tidal wave was set off by speculative business buying following the Communist invasion of South Korea. A wild rush to buy up commodities and raw materials likely to be needed for defense sent prices of these commodities sky-high. The government, entering the market to make the necessary defense purchases, gave an additional upward push to the prices of many staples.

By the end of 1950 the consumer, fearing scarcities ahead, began to respond to the come-on of advertisements chorusing the chant that this was the last chance to get that television set, washing machine or vacuum cleaner. If he had enough cash to make the down payment, he bought the thing most wanted.

The buying rush reached its peak last January, sending the prices of consumers' goods still higher. In the meantime food prices, especially meat, continued to rise, driving up the cost of living and further shrinking the reduced buying power of the dollar.

Soon after the Communist invasion of South Korea and the decision of the free world to resist this aggression, these developments could be readily foreseen. In fact, on August 10, 1950, only a few weeks after the Communist forces crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel, the American Federation of Labor's Executive Council issued a call for a comprehensive program to mobilize for defense and stabilize the nation's economy.

Labor's program was not an "everybody sacrifice but us" program. It called for tax and other fiscal controls, materials controls and price controls and it squarely recognized the inevitable need to stabilize wages as a part of a comprehensive program to stop inflation.

Although the situation rapidly grew more serious, no Congressional

authority for an effective program to meet the national emergency was given. Instead, the reactionary forces in Congress haggled over protection of "business as usual" long enough to bring out the ineffectual patchwork compromise known as the Defense Production Act of 1950.

While precious time was frittered away in hesitation and argument, banks were pouring out billions in business credit to finance speculative buying, inventories were getting bloated and a building boom was breaking winter records, made possible by heavy mortgage borrowing.

Significantly, the first step to effect economic stabilization was not designed to check the speculative boom, to control credit and check the rise in consumer prices. The first step was to freeze wages.

It was long after the announcement of the wage freeze that the Federal Reserve Board and the Treasury resolved their differences and began to tighten commercial bank credit. And what passed for price stabilization in the first five months of 1951 was a comfortable model allowing for a three-way stretch and ready to accommodate ample bulges.

Allocation of scarce materials during this time can hardly be said to have been controlled. While percentage allocations were set up on paper in Washington, the actual task of apportioning the needed steel, rubber and other critical materials was handed over to their producers under an "honor system," with plenty of room for deals between the suppliers and their favorite business customers.

Other administrative steps taken to check inflation have been what the economists would call "regressive." That is, the opposite of "progressive." Backward.

The new federal taxes which went into effect in March, 1951, did not spread the added income tax load in accordance with ability to pay. Regulation W, requiring heavier down

payments in installment buying, hit people with short purses, while those with long purses would have no trouble in making heavier down payments. Regulation X, calling for a large down payment to buy a house, snuffed out the hope of home ownership for people of small means—but not for the well-to-do.

Since March of this year there has been some letup in inflationary pressure. While production of many durable consumer goods still continued in high gear, fewer people could afford to buy them. Millions of wage-earners discovered that economic stabilization provided no three-way stretch for them. Instead, they were caught in a three-way squeeze. Wage stabilization, increased prices and the "regressive" tax and credit policies have combined to place a proportionately heavier burden of defense mobilization on workers.

But, despite the temporary lull, inflation is by no means over. In fact, every indication is that the worst is yet to come. And a further rise in prices—inevitable unless prevented by firm credit, fiscal and other measures—will hit the wage-earner even harder than before.

IN VIEW of this prospect, it is especially vital to the strength of our economy that the wage stabilization policy be fair and equitable. This it has not been thus far.

The backbone of the wage stabilization policy in effect to date has been the 10 per cent formula, limiting wage increases to 10 per cent above January, 1950. Cost-of-living allowances have been made under union contract escalator clauses or, as in the meat-packing cases, under contract-reopening clauses where increased cost of living is the basis for the reopening of the contract.

The recently reconstituted Wage Stabilization Board is yet to come to grips with the fundamental equities of a wage policy realistically de-

veloped in the present economic setting.

Consideration is yet to be given to such specific problems as the relation between wages and productivity, the entire matter of substandard wages, length-of-service increases, promotions and transfers to higher-paid jobs and major fringe issues, all of which must be dealt with completely apart from any cost-of-living considerations.

The outstanding unfairness and inequity of the 10 per cent formula, or any other rigid percentage formula, are at the heart of such a formula itself. A percentage formula is regressive. It yields a greater benefit to the worker in the higher wage bracket than it does to the workers in the low wage brackets.

An allowance of a 10 per cent increase to a worker earning 80 cents an hour gives him 8 cents more per hour. The same 10 per cent allowance to a worker earning \$2.40 an hour gives him an increase of 24 cents an hour.

No one will deny that the 10 per cent allowance written into the wage stabilization formula from the start was designed to meet the cost-of-living rise between January, 1950, and January, 1951. It is a cost-of-living allowance. Yet, through some incredible reasoning, the wage stabilizers would have to argue that the worker making \$2.40 an hour or \$96 for a 40-hour week needs \$9.60 a week more to meet the increased cost of living, while the worker receiving only 80 cents an hour, or \$32 a week, is expected to meet the higher cost of living out of an increase which amounts to only \$3.20.

IT HAS become a habit to talk about wages in manufacturing industries as if they were representative of all wages generally prevailing in the country. But such is not the case.

In March the average gross hourly earnings of a manufacturing worker were about \$1.56 an hour. He worked, on the average, 41 hours a week. His weekly gross earnings averaged \$64.

This average, of course, conceals widespread differences. For example, an average cigarmaker earned about \$1.02 an hour, worked about 37 hours a week, making about \$37.75 a week. An average women's garment worker, in the women's suits, coats

and skirts branch of the industry, earned about \$2.05 an hour, worked 36 hours a week, making around \$73.80. In aircraft propellers and parts, the average pay was about \$1.95 an hour, but hours of work were over 46 per week and the average weekly earnings around \$90.

It is well to remember that manufacturing industries employ only about one-third of all employed non-agricultural workers in the United States—about 16,000,000 out of 46,000,000. Of the remaining 30,000,000, over 16,000,000 are employed in trade and service, with the bulk of low-paid workers concentrated in this group.

In this important group in our industrial employment, consider the case of the laundry worker, who is engaged in one of the extremely hard and onerous occupations in the service category.

In 1939 the average weekly wage of the manufacturing worker was \$23.86. The average weekly wage of the laundry worker was then \$17.69, or 74 per cent of the manufacturing wage. Since that time manufacturing wages have risen, reaching \$64.33 in March, 1951. By that time the weekly wage of the average laundry worker had struggled up to \$36.70. But this meant that in March, 1951, the weekly wage of the laundry worker was only 57 per cent of the manufacturing worker's wage. Instead of being 26 per cent below the manufacturing average, as he had been in 1939, the laundry worker was 43 per cent below the manufacturing worker in March, 1951.

But that is not the whole story. What happened to the buying power of the laundry worker, compared with that of the average worker in manufacturing?

In 1939 the manufacturing worker was averaging \$23.86. Figuring on the basis of the buying power of the 1939 dollar, the real wage of the manufacturing worker in March, 1951, was \$34.66. While the rise in the cost of living had taken a big bite out of his increased money wages, the manufacturing worker's real wage in March, 1951, was 42 per cent above 1939. In 1939 dollars the manufacturing worker was earning \$10.80 more in March, 1951, than he had earned in 1939.

This increase of \$10.80, or 42 per cent, was no windfall to the manu-

facturing worker. In the course of the twelve years his weekly hours of work went up from 37.7 to over 41 per week. That reduced the increase in real weekly wages for the same amount of work to about \$8 per week, or 33.5 per cent. In many manufacturing industries this increase did not keep up with increased productivity since 1939, and on the basis of the productivity factor alone it was clear that the manufacturing worker did not share fully in the prosperous postwar growth of the country.

But the laundry worker fared far worse. In 1939 his average weekly wage was \$17.69. Figuring again in 1939 dollars, his real wage in March, 1951, averaged only \$19.77 per week. This means that the laundry worker's real weekly wage increased only \$2.08, or only 11.7 per cent over twelve years. Considering that the workweek was about an hour shorter in 1951, this raised the real weekly wage for the same time worked to about \$2.50, or 14 per cent above 1939 for the average laundry worker.

NO FIGURES are available on the changes in productivity in the laundry industry during the last twelve years. But we know enough about the extent of mechanization in the industry and the increased man-hour output in individual localities to conclude that, on the basis of productivity, the increase in real earnings for the laundry workers should have been several times what it actually was.

Here we have the laundry industry, employing some 350,000 workers, whose average employee subsisted on the measly \$17.69 gross weekly pay in 1939, at a time when we had nearly 10,000,000 unemployed, and whose buying power, under the present conditions of full employment, has been increased only \$2.50 per week, without accounting for taxes imposed on him since that time.

Consider that the average laundry worker, whose total gain in real weekly income actually earned over twelve years has been only 11.7 per cent, before taxes, is expected to accept a smaller wage increase than the manufacturing worker, whose weekly real income, actually earned, increased 42 per cent, or more than three and (Continued on Page 30)



Traditional cutting of the ribbon officially opened the A. F. of L.'s greatest Union Industries Show

A. F. of L. Show in Chicago Delights Gigantic Crowds

The Bakery Workers gave away cakes and promoted the union label



THE 1951 Union Industries Show, the greatest of all time, passed into history at midnight May 26. This year's edition of the famous American Federation of Labor exposition was held at Soldier Field in Chicago. Despite two days of bad weather, the total attendance reached a record-breaking 924,000. The previous attendance high was 500,000 at Philadelphia one year ago.

The big spectacle got under way May 18 when William Green, president of the A. F. of L., snipped the traditional ribbon. Other officers of the Federation and Governor Stevenson of Illinois and Mayor Kennelly of Chicago were on hand, and press photographers, television cameras and motion picture newsreels recorded the ceremony.

Exhibits valued at more than \$16,000,000 were on display. A. F. of L. unions and companies employing union labor had a total of 413 exhibits exposed to the public's scrutiny. The American



One of the major attractions for the visitors was the American Federation of Labor's own exhibit

Federation of Labor itself had a large and interesting exhibit. Labor's League for Political Education also had an exhibit.

Among the exhibitors were the armed forces. This exhibit was one of the most outstanding ones. Global tension made it particularly timely.

A. F. of L. craftsmen held the interest of the throngs as they demonstrated their skills. Give-aways passed out to the visitors were plentiful. The Bakery Workers gave away a cake every twenty minutes. The Glass Bottle Blowers gave away a car. The Stove Mounters gave away five costly stoves every night. The Meat Cutters gave away each day in finished cuts of meat the equivalent of one whole steer, one whole pig and two sheep.

The A. F. of L.'s renowned building trades were in this year's show in a big way. The building trades occupied the largest single section of the mammoth exposition.

The Operative Potters held the attention of the tremendous throngs with a fascinating exhibit showing how cups, saucers and plates are turned out. In the Iron Workers' exhibit an old-timer hammered out tiny horsehoes on an old-fashioned anvil. The Laundry Workers demonstrated how they perform their jobs. The Bricklayers' competition for apprentices was a big hit. The Plasterers featured a famed sculptor who produced images of notables on the spot. The Tobacco Workers put the spotlight of approval on union-made cigarettes.

Nationally known products of companies operating under agreements with

unions of the American Federation of Labor were displayed and demonstrated. These union-made commodities were of almost every conceivable type.

Secretary of the Army Frank Pace and Assistant Secretary of Labor Ralph Wright visited the show. The colorful scene was also looked over by represent-

atives of foreign governments and foreign labor movements. Among those from abroad were representatives of Great Britain, Germany and Australia.

The big show, a project of the Union Label Trades Department, was under the direction of Raymond F. Leheney, the Department's secretary.

The building trades unions had the show's largest single section



It's Time to Start Training for '52

By JOSEPH D. KEENAN

LABOR'S League for Political Education is planning a full-scale counterattack in 1952. L.L.P.E.'s Administrative Committee urges local and state leagues to start their plans immediately.

Many union members and officers were disappointed by the 1950 elections. Some are worried that we won't get the crumbs that are usually thrown to us by a reactionary Congress. Some are ready to withdraw from the political field. *But you can't win a fight unless you are in it.*

We have learned enough from seasoned politicians and experience to know that as long as we are in a fight there is always a chance of winning. *The sure way to lose a fight—and never get anything but crumbs from the table—is to stay out of it.*

We worked hard in the last election, yet a lot of our friends lost. Those are the breaks of the game.

The history of progress is a series of disappointments. Every step was fought for. Gains were won, lost, won again.

That is also true of politics. There is no magic way to win quick, easy, permanent victories. Let's remember that the lifeblood of politics in a democracy is competition. You can't win one election and close up shop.

We can expect to take more licks, along with our victories, in years ahead. The main thing is to keep trying. In time we will have a solid, permanent effect on U.S. politics.

A lot of people felt bad because

we didn't win in Ohio last year. Actually it was the case of a seasoned professional political team against rookies.

Robert Taft's victory cost more money than that of any other Senator in history. Every trick in the book was used. Even religious hatred against Catholics was used by our opponents in the last week—after they had spent months working the other side of the street by flattering prominent Catholics.

How do we overcome this defeat and go on to victories? By giving up—or by staying with this program until we have good political know-how and the understanding of the people?

Giving up is just not part of the trade union tradition. I remember the 1921 steel strike. I remember the 1921 packing house strike. I remember how the unions were destroyed completely in those strikes. But did the great union leaders give up? Of course not. And today in both steel and meat-packing you will find the strongest of unions and the best of conditions. In both cases the unions came back to fight again.

So it is with politics; you must take the bitter with the sweet.

As far as our present political position is concerned, we are not so badly off as we might be. Labor's enemies won a smashing victory in 1946 and passed the Taft-Hartley Act. But by counterpunching in 1948, we won back lost ground and elected a Congress that passed the first progressive legislation in a

decade—the 75-cent minimum wage, increased social security, public housing and the great union shop law for railroad workers. It is true we again took a setback in 1950. But not nearly so bad a one as in 1946.

So now we have a stalemate in Congress. We can't get Taft-Hartley repealed or good laws passed, but our enemies are afraid to attack us in the open. The best they can do is to slash at us through the back door by cutting appropriations for such things as public housing and the Labor Department. They haven't got the courage or the votes to take us on in an open fight to wreck the various progressive laws on the books.

They are waiting to see who will break the stalemate in 1952. Will labor votes tip the balance to a liberal majority in Congress, or will we take a walk?

If we hide out just because our feelings were hurt in 1950, you can bet your bottom dollar reactionaries will make a clean sweep. Gone will be any respect for labor on Capitol Hill.

If we try our best, win or lose, we will gain the respect of the professional politicians. They will give us our due and not trample the interests of the ordinary citizens of this country. They will know labor is in politics to stay.

Just remember that if you want to win bad enough you can.

We lost in the last election. We have all had a good cry. Now it is time to start training for the next contest—November 4, 1952.

Does Stalin Dare Lift the Curtain?

By TONI SENDER

THE Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has taken a decision of historic importance. The Council has decided that a thorough investigation of slave labor should be held. For the first time a subject of vast importance brought forward by a non-governmental organization has led to a decision for action.

Forced labor is to be investigated by a committee of carefully chosen experts. This decision is the result of efforts, lasting almost four years, which were begun by the American Federation of Labor in 1947 and brought to a conclusion by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in 1951.

At the starting point, back in 1947, the first document on forced labor was submitted to the United Nations by the American Federation of Labor. Additional evidence was presented to the Economic and Social Council at subsequent sessions. The charges and their documentation became so overwhelming that the subject of slave labor could not be by-passed any longer.

Labor's efforts began with the submission of affidavits signed by persons known to the A. F. of L. who had been inmates of the Russian forced labor camps, suffered there and escaped toward the end of the war. The evidence of slavery grew to a formidable accusation when the original "Corrective Labor Codex" and other incriminating documents in the Russian language and published in the Soviet Union by the Stalin government could be shown to the members

of the Economic and Social Council.

At the Council's recent meeting in Santiago, Chile, the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions presented photostatic copies of documents bearing the letterhead of the NKVD, the Soviet secret police, and the Gulag, the forced labor section of the NKVD, complete with signatures. Among them was a handbook for the administration of the slave camps, seventy-five pages in length and containing complete instructions for the running of those camps. Everything is to be found in the handbook—how little the slave laborers are to be fed, how poorly they are to be clothed, how hard they are to be worked and how much they are to be punished.

Certainly no one goes to the trouble of writing and setting up in type a seventy-five-page book for the sake of using merely a few copies. This book, issued by the concentration camp division of the NKVD, is used for the subjection of only God knows how many inmates.

The introduction to the handbook states that it is for the regulation of "all the personnel of the supply and household administration of the camp and subdivisions of the camp." The diet of the forced labor camp is set forth. An analysis indicates that 1,292 calories per day are allotted for each worker, while the minimum caloric need for a man weighing 154 pounds is generally estimated at 2,500 calories if he is engaged in sedentary work.

Added to this fact is the important consideration of vitamin content. The

food listed for the slave laborers has such a low vitamin content that it is necessary, as seen in Paragraph 6 of the handbook, that an anti-scurvy treatment be considered in detail. But the minimum diet is only part of the story in the regulations for disbursement of food. It is possible for a forced laborer to receive more food if he is a Stakhanovite, or shock worker.

Thus the whip of hunger is used cruelly for the purpose of driving the slaves to greater and greater exertions. This is a vicious circle indeed because more work means greater exhaustion and pressing need for more caloric content.

Illness is widespread in the slave camps. This is seen from the detailed instructions specified for the minimum feeding of patients. There is a cruel note in the instructions. In Paragraph 21 of Page 20 it is said that outgoing patients, such as those with dysentery and fever, may get diabetic food. "This food," says the handbook, "shall not exceed the value of the food ration previously fixed for the camp inmate and shall correspond to his average wages five days prior to his falling ill."

The handbook carries a headline reading "Provisions for Those Forbidden Everything." This refers to workers accused of committing offenses within the camp. The number of calories to be assigned to these unfortunates is 716 calories, far below the starvation level.

One portion of the handbook deserves special attention. This is Section 24, Paragraph 156. Here it is



The evil regime now ruling Russia has enslaved millions of people in dozens of forced labor camps

specified that a dog shall have the minimum ration of 1,184 calories. In addition, all remains of food from the kitchen of the guards shall be given to the dogs.

Here the nature of Stalin's slave system stands plainly revealed—a system which treats human beings worse than it treats animals.

Further study of the handbook indicated that the rags and filth which surround these workers must be almost beyond imagination. It is decreed that clothing is to be used until completely worn out, clothing is not to be exchanged, all clothing is to be listed in a permanent registration book and a sick inmate must turn in his clothing before entering the prison hospital.

Let us take one more fact out of this manual of totalitarian evil. It deals with punishment for those accused of wasting clothing. It reads:

First offense: The prisoner's working days are not credited to his account for six months and the cost of the articles must be covered by him. *Second offense:* Removal to the punitive isolator for one year, cancellation of all past entries to his credit and repayment of the costs of the article."

WHILE Mr. Pavlov, the Russian delegate to the Human Rights Commission, was making speeches about "human rights in the Soviet Union" and describing in the most glowing colors all the privileges which the workers in the U.S.S.R. are allegedly enjoying, the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, an official publication of the State Publishing House in Moscow, states in an article on "corrective labor":

"In corrective labor establishments a strict class policy is carried out, and class-hostile elements are not permitted to enjoy the privileges laid down for those persons deprived of freedom who are of working-class origin."

The same source also indirectly refutes the U.S.S.R. delegate's contention that the purpose of the forced labor camps is simply to "reeducate" and "reform" the inmates. The Communists' encyclopedia says:

"The wholesale denial of the possibility of reeducating criminals from among class-hostile elements [cannot be admitted]. * * * On the other hand, that view is also incorrect which regards corrective labor establishments as purely educative or even purely economic establishments, and in this way glosses over the elements

of compulsion in the work of corrective labor and slips into a denial of the class question in the carrying out of corrective labor policy and into a refusal to carry out the tasks of crushing class-hostile elements and corruptive elements."

But who belongs to the "class-hostile" elements? Obviously, everyone who disagrees in any way with the Communist Party and its leaders. Article 22 of the basic criminal code of the U.S.S.R. reads:

"Punishment in the form of exile can be applied by a sentence of the state prosecutor against persons recognized as being socially dangerous, without any criminal proceedings being taken against these persons on charges of committing a specific crime or of a specific offense, and also even in those cases where these persons are acquitted by a court of the accusation of committing a specific crime."

What was the Soviet delegate's answer to the grave accusations, all based on undeniable evidence? The Russian representative asserted that the subject of forced labor had been put on the agenda for the sole purpose of checking the growing sympathy toward the U.S.S.R. among the masses

of people throughout the world and to make them forget increasingly serious economic difficulties in the capitalist world and the deterioration in the workers' standards of living.

Real slavery, averred the Soviet delegate, was in the capitalist countries where employes were compelled to accept wage reductions and dreadful working conditions. He gave the fantastic figure of 45,000,000 unemployed in the capitalist countries and added to it the monstrous statement that conditions were so frightful in some places that, in order not to die of hunger, workers had been reduced to selling their blood.

After painting this horrible picture of the workers' alleged plight in the free world, the Soviet delegate delivered a harangue on the "wonderful" conditions of workers in the Red paradise. He mentioned rest homes, improved housing conditions, increased facilities for satisfying the cultural needs of the workers, state welfare allowances, social insurance, pensions, family allowances, etc.

Rightly did the American delegate reply that this description of workers' conditions in the U.S.S.R. was so fantastic that the only reaction of the average American would be to ask whether it had been made seriously.

No attempt could be made any longer to brush aside the facts. The democratic countries' slight lifting of the Iron Curtain had given such a realization of the horrors behind the curtain that there was no longer any easy way out for the practitioners of slavery.

The discussion in the Economic and Social Council meeting at Santiago was brought to a close with the adoption of a resolution which said:

"Deeply moved by the documents and evidence brought to its knowledge and revealing in law and in fact the existence in the world of systems of forced labor under which a large proportion of the populations of certain states are subjected to a penitentiary regime, [the Economic and Social Council]

"Decides: to invite the International Labor Organization to cooperate with the Council in the earliest possible establishment of an *ad hoc* committee on forced labor of not more than five independent members, qualified by their competence and impartiality, to be appointed jointly by

the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the International Labor Office, with the following terms of reference:

"To study the nature and extent of the problem raised by the existence in the world of systems of forced or 'corrective' labor which are employed as a means of political coercion or punishment for holding or expressing political views, and which are on such a scale as to constitute an important element in the economy of a given country, by examining the texts of laws and regulations and their application in the light of the principles referred to above, and, if the committee thinks fit, by taking additional evidence into consideration;

"To report the results of the studies and progress thereon to the Council and to the Governing Body of the International Labor Office; and

"Requests the Secretary-General and the Director-General to supply the professional and clerical assistance necessary to insure the earliest initiation and effective discharge of the *ad hoc* committee's work."

This is one of the most important resolutions the Economic and Social Council has ever adopted. Upon its application and its results may depend the future of the United Nations as a body able and willing to fulfill the promises of its Charter. This is a very serious test. No one need expect that it will be made easier by any assistance on the part of the Soviets.

But their refusal of cooperation must not lead to inaction.

The next step will be an agreement between the Secretary-General of the U.N. and the Director-General of the I.L.O. on the persons of high standing to be asked to serve on the investigating committee. It would seem desirable to have this understanding reached in a personal meeting between Mr. Lie and Mr. Morse.

Once the members of the committee meet, they will have to determine their rules of procedure. A competent staff will have to study all the evidence already available.

The preparatory work will include the collection and study of all official documents, some of which have been mentioned in this article. The investigating committee may wish to hold hearings and receive testimony from witnesses who know all about these labor camps from their own experience of their horrors.

Should the committee wish to have the I.C.F.T.U.'s or the A. F. of L.'s assistance, it will be promptly given.

One may be confident that the committee will act conscientiously and responsibly. It will not be motivated by any desire to be sensational. On the contrary, only a reliable and true picture of the horrifying facts of slave labor is needed.

In these proceedings the Soviet system of human slavery will be on trial. The workers of all the world will be watching in a very grave mood.



A. F. of L. began U.N. pressure for slavery probe years ago. Here Vice-Presidents David Dubinsky and Matthew Woll and Miss Sender hand action plea to Trygve Lie



A Great Union Town

THE SAN FRANCISCO STORY

By JACK GOLDBERGER and GEORGE W. JOHNS

President and Secretary, Respectively, San Francisco Labor Council, A. F. of L.

DISCOVERY of gold in California a century ago stimulated more than interest in the get-rich-quick possibilities of pay dirt. It marked the beginnings of the industrial and commercial growth of San Francisco and its emergence as a city. It also marked the beginning of the need for a sizable labor force.

Thousands rushed to California and made for the diggings. No one wanted to work prosaically for a living while there was the possibility of a fortune in the hills for the taking. Offers of \$10 a day—high for those times—went begging.

Most of the gold-seekers ended up poorer than they began. Many drifted back to San Francisco and took jobs, any kind of job, to earn money to get home. During the gold rush, however, San Francisco was a boom town, busy and thriving, with wages at unprecedented levels.

The history of the labor movement in San Francisco dates from those colorful times. Since then San Francisco has been one of the most completely organized cities in the world, although labor has, of course, had its bad times as well as good.

Probably the first concerted attempt to gain higher wages was made by the

carpenters and joiners of San Francisco in the winter of 1849, when they asked for an increase from the prevailing \$12 a day to \$16. They got a compromise settlement—\$13 for a couple of weeks, then \$14 a day. Those boom-town wages of 102 years ago are not too out of line with present-day scales.

Apparently the first organization of workers took place the following year. The first trade union on the Pacific Coast seems to have been the San Francisco Typographical Society, formed early in 1850. The union originated in the demand of printers for piece wages rather than day wages.

The teamsters organized in the same year, as apparently did the boatmen. Strikes occurred among the musicians and the sailors that year. Both disputes were lost. Legislation was enacted against foreign-born labor. Foreign-born miners were taxed, in a law repealed a year later.

Such was the beginning of the San Francisco labor story.

The gold-rush years were followed by a depression which nullified the high wages of the boom era. The years which followed were characterized by a seeming contradiction—

strikes which failed and continuing reduction of wages occurring at the same time as the organization of trade after trade took place.

In 1853 the Bricklayers, Bakers, Carpenters, Plasterers, Painters, Tinniers, Shipwrights, Caulkers, Longshoremen, Steamship and Steamboat Firemen and Coal Passers, Blacksmiths, Riggers and Stevedores and Tailors Unions were organized—only to disband, for the most part, a few years later. But still new unions were organized—Laborers, Granite Cutters, Sailmakers, Cartmen, Steamboat Joiners, Hatters. By 1857 the Coopers, Boatmen, Draymen and Watermen had been added to the growing list of San Francisco labor unions.

By this time the great boom had been succeeded by a drastic depression. High wages vanished. Unemployment was general. The *San Francisco Morning Call* in December, 1857, said that "each succeeding year brings with it a reduction in the rate of wages, and if the declension is not soon arrested, we shall have labor in California depressed even lower than in the overcrowded communities of the Eastern states."

This seems rather ironical today, when West Coast wages generally are

higher than elsewhere in the nation.

The California labor movement at this time was purely local. The Printers were the first to affiliate with a national organization, receiving the first national charter in California. During those early years many trade unions formed and were dissolved and formed again. They were entirely dependent on the fluctuations of the economic cycle, organizing in good times and vanishing in times of low wages and unemployment. But the wage scales of those formative years—\$5 to \$7 a day for Carpenters and Machinists; \$10 to \$12 for Pressmen; \$8 to \$10 for Bricklayers; \$20 for Musicians, etc.—although low for the present day, were excellent, perhaps the highest in all the world, in that distant time.

The first central labor council was formed in 1863. It was called the San Francisco Trades Union. It followed a Tailors Union strike which had been supported by other unions in the city. The central body lasted three years, until internal squabbles over the proposed eight-hour day destroyed it.

Continued organization of various trades and efforts to attain a general eight-hour day dominated that decade. On June 3, 1867, crafts which were working or had gone on record for an eight-hour day paraded down Market Street, and the *Evening Bulletin* declared the affair "reflected great credit upon the workingmen of this city." * * * The procession was orderly and well-conducted, and not a drunken

man was seen in the ranks. In fact, a more respectable-looking body of men has seldom been seen in this city."

Labor began the process of political education at this time, forming a Mechanics' Eight-Hour League which interviewed political candidates and endorsed only those pledged to work for the eight-hour day. The election was a triumph for organized labor.

A Mechanics' State Council was formed in San Francisco after the election to work for the same goal—promotion of the eight-hour day. The eight-hour day became California state law on February 21, 1868, and eighteen San Francisco trade unions, joined by Oakland unions, held a torchlight procession to celebrate. Unfortunately, later events nullified this achievement.

The first labor papers appeared (briefly) in the Sixties; a closed shop strike was called by the Plasterers; the first "walking delegate" was appointed (by the Carpenters) to inspect each job to see that only union men were employed.

VIRTUALLY all trades were organized. Connections were made with city, state and national movements. The first labor legislation was enacted, establishing the eight-hour day (later rendered ineffectual and replaced by the ten-hour day). Employment of Orientals who were willing to work longer hours for less pay gave the first indication of later trouble.

The transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869. There occurred a period of speculation plus unemployment and unrest. Wages went down. Economic crisis, panic and unemployment meant that organized labor took a beating. A drayman named Dennis Kearney promised everything would be fine if they would get rid of the Chinese.

The 1870s saw working California turn into a mob to follow Dennis Kearney on the road to anti-Oriental agitation which resulted in the federal Chinese Exclusion Act of 1902. It was a period of riot and anarchy, of the Vigilantes and hoodlums, of the Workingmen's Party, of workingmen's sandlot meetings, of violence and lynch law.

This was not San Francisco's "respectable" period. It did this for the San Francisco working man, however



MR. JOHNS

—it accustomed him to speaking his mind in a meeting of his fellow workers and to combining with his fellow workers to agitate for what he believed in.

The Trades Assembly of San Francisco was organized in 1878 and sent a delegate three years later to the historic Pittsburgh conference from which sprang the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada—later the American Federation of Labor.

In 1882 the local Trades Assembly and several unions affiliated with the new labor organization. In December, 1892, the San Francisco Trades and Labor Council was formally launched. On February 4, 1893, it shortened its name to San Francisco Labor Council. The San Francisco Labor Council's official charter from the American Federation of Labor is dated May 17, 1893, a date which marks the beginning of the most important era in San Francisco labor history.

A decisive action was the Teamsters' strike of 1901. It had been a year of strikes. The Metal Polishers, Cooks and Waiters, Butchers, Carriage Makers and iron trades preceded the general walkout of 13,000 Teamsters. The *Labor Clarion's* Labor Day issue a year later gives a striking picture of those times of struggle:

"Determined to maintain their right to organize, and all efforts to effect peace having failed, the City Front Federation, with which the Teamsters were affiliated, on July 29 ordered a general strike of its members, numbering over 13,000 men. Shipping, work around the docks and business gen-



MR. GOLDBERGER



A meeting of the San Francisco Labor Council. Its sessions are usually well-attended and lively affairs

erally was paralyzed, and this was the condition of affairs when Labor Day, 1901, was observed—over 20,000 men being on strike or locked out.

"The struggle was a bitter one and its history is too recent to require repetition here. Suffice it to say that on October 2 peace was declared. The City Front Federation's members and the other organizations involved with them returned to work as union men—the strength and power of organized labor had been tested to the utmost, but it did not break under the strain. Many long years will pass before such methods as were used to disrupt the unions will be tried again in this city."

During and following this great strike many of the outstanding figures in the San Francisco labor movement achieved recognition. Such men as John O'Connell, Michael Casey and John P. McLaughlin of the Teamsters, Andrew Furuseth of the Seamen, Tim Reardon and Al Wynn of the Metal Trades, and P. H. McCarthy of the Building Trades took an increasingly active part.

These men continued to be leaders of the San Francisco labor movement down almost to the present day. In fact, Al Wynn, still secretary of the Molders, Local 164, and secretary of the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council, would resent any implication that he is a figure of the past, for he is one of the most prominent and active leaders of the West Coast labor movement today.

The great trio of teamsters—Michael Casey, John O'Connell and John P. McLaughlin—is no more. Casey

died many years ago; O'Connell, long-time secretary of the Labor Council, died in 1948; and the last of the three, John McLaughlin, was secretary of the Teamsters' Local 85 when he passed away last year.

These were strong men, and they gave the labor movement of the West its characteristic vigor and spirit of action.

That spirit was needed in the years that followed, which were characterized by hard strikes, lockouts and brutal strikebreaking action, alternating with periods of uneasy peace.

EVERY means conceivable was used by employers to defeat and if possible break the back of organized labor. The period following World War I was an especially turbulent one, with strikes by the Teamsters and waterfront unions, the building trades, metal trades and other crafts. None of these strikes was successful against the might of the employers, who utilized injunctions, lockouts, scab labor and armed strikebreakers, as well as legal devices of many sorts. The closed-shop policy, which had dominated the building trades for more than twenty years, was overthrown. Organized labor found itself in a very bad position.

The years of depression did nothing to improve that position. Then came the establishment of the New Deal and formal recognition at last of the rights of labor. And then came also a wave of union organization throughout the country, in which San Francisco labor fully participated. Highlighting this period was 1934, the year of the general strike.

Weeks before the general strike, the Longshoremen had asked for higher wages, shorter hours, a wider distribution of the work, a coast-wide agreement and control of the hiring hall. When arbitration efforts failed, the Longshoremen's strike began, becoming coast-wide in May.

The strike began on the waterfront. The Sailors and other waterfront unions joined in demanding better wages and hours and hiring hall control. Support by the Teamsters tied up the entire waterfront. Strikebreakers were then imported by the employers, and blood was shed.

President Roosevelt appointed a mediation board on June 26. It failed to achieve results. Under police protection, strikebreakers attempted to open up the port. Union men fought the police and strikebreakers, using cobblestones and brickbats against tear gas and pistols. Two union men were killed and hundreds injured. Ten thousand union men marched in a funeral procession for the dead brothers a few days later.

The governor sent the National Guard, 5,000 strong, to "protect" state property.

At this juncture the Labor Council took a strike vote among the affiliated unions, and a general strike was voted, to take effect July 16.

The general strike, which involved 100,000 union men, lasted only a few days, but its effects still linger. It was followed by a surge of organization which has made San Francisco one of the most completely organized cities in the world. It resulted in a unification and solidification of the

labor movement which has made it possible for it to act forcefully and effectively. Labor in San Francisco, being predominantly an A. F. of L. movement (150,000 A. F. of L., 12,000 C.I.O. and a few scattered independents), can assume a solid position and take concerted action in labor relations, in community affairs, in politics or in other interests of labor.

In 1936 the Labor Council established procedures and rules regarding boycotts, strikes and picketing. Major strikes occurred in department stores and hotels that year, but there was no repetition of the earlier brand of violence. Since the procedures and rules were laid down, an atmosphere of peace has prevailed in San Francisco labor relations. Most disputes have been settled promptly and amicably, without strike action. When properly sanctioned strikes have been called, they have almost always received the support of the entire labor movement.

The war years gave new stimulus to organization. Floods of workers came into the Bay Area to serve in shipyards and defense plants, and union rolls boomed. Although membership declined somewhat after the war, the Labor Council represents 150 A. F. of L. unions with a total membership of 150,000, a tremendous figure in a city of 760,000 population.

San Francisco was the setting of the American Federation of Labor convention in 1947, as it will be again later this year. A tragic moment of that convention came when Judge Joseph A. Padway, general counsel of the A. F. of L., suffered a fatal attack while he was addressing the delegates. An unforgettable funeral service for the beloved Judge Padway was held on the floor of the convention in the presence of the delegates and hundreds of others.

The imposition of the Taft-Hartley Act brought to the San Francisco Labor Council, as it did to other labor groups throughout the country, a realization of the necessity for political activity. The local Union Labor Party, already in existence, was established in 1949 as the local branch of Labor's League for Political Education. Since then it has been extremely active and influential in local politics. Its president is now Jack Goldberger, also president of the Labor Council since 1948.

Labor achieved a real political

victory in November, 1949, when John F. Shelley, who had moved to the office of secretary of the Council when John O'Connell died the year before, was elected to Congress from the Fifth District. He was succeeded as secretary by George W. Johns, who had been assistant secretary of the Council. Gus Katsarsky of the Plumbers and Pipefitters became the new assistant secretary.

Last year was the Gompers Centennial Year, and San Francisco observed it with fitting ceremonial. The Labor Day parade was dedicated to his memory and during the day a plaque was presented to the Samuel Gompers Trade School, celebrating its fourteenth year in San Francisco. The school, one of the first such educational institutions, was established at the instigation of the Labor Council and opened its doors in 1936. This fall will see the opening of an additional trade school, the John O'Connell Trade School, named in honor of the late secretary of the Council.

Last year also saw the writing and production of "Men on the Job," a 35 mm. film strip which tells the story of racial and religious tolerance within the San Francisco labor movement. The film was dedicated to Samuel Gompers and took its keynote from his words:

"The earth was intended for all mankind and not for a few. We must fight for the ideal which is America, equality of opportunity for all."

Noted Labor Editor Retires

THE dean of American labor journalism, Max Danish, editor of *Justice*, has retired after four decades of service to the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. In 1914 he became managing editor of the *Ladies' Garment Worker*, then the official monthly publication of the union. Five years later, when *Justice* was started, he assumed its editorial helm. The union's official publication has been edited by him ever since.

Brother Danish has also served as director of publicity for the Ladies' Garment Workers. In that role he has had a profound influence on the development of labor's public relations practices.

Friends and colleagues paid homage to the veteran labor editor and publicity man at a luncheon in New York on May 22. David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., was one of the speakers. He lauded Mr. Danish as "always the tireless worker" and emphasized his "utmost devotion." Mr. Danish spoke movingly in response.

The Economic Cooperation Administration, the Army, public schools, minority group organizations and many other groups outside the labor movement are making use of this unusual film, the only thing of its kind to be produced by a central labor union up to now.

Other achievements last year were the Council's success in retaining rent controls in San Francisco, improvement of teachers' salaries, advancement of the welfare of all city employes and recognition for its participation in various civic activities. Many projects started in 1950 are still in process of coming to fruition.

This year the San Francisco Labor Council will be happy to serve again as host to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. That event alone will mark the San Francisco labor year as one of proud achievement, for out of that occasion will come labor's program of work to be done and goals to be reached. San Francisco feels highly honored to be the scene of the convention.

We like to think that San Francisco has always been a favorite city of the A. F. of L., and we hope that as convention hosts once again this year the San Francisco labor movement will be able to assure its place in the hearts of A. F. of L. members by its efforts to make a real and lasting contribution to the continuing progress of the movement we love—the American Federation of Labor.

FIVE YEARS OF PROGRESS

By A. L. SPRADLING

*President, Amalgamated Association of Street
and Electric Railway Employes of America*

If YOU were to ask the streetcar man or bus driver who took you downtown to work this morning just how things have gone during the last five years, he'd probably tell you that "it's been a tough grind."

He'd be right, too. These men who serve you daily—members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes—have had to fight for every inch gained along the highway of progress. Happily, however, they've made tremendous strides, but it hasn't been an "easy stroll" by any means.

In 1946, with the country feeling its way along in the first year of our so-called postwar economy, the highest wage rate paid to local transit employees in the United States was \$1.32 per hour. Wages had just begun to move up, trying vainly to catch up to the rapidly increasing cost of living, but never quite making it. And, if one may be permitted to wax facetious, that race is still on.

The rates paid to our Canadian members were much lower, 93 cents an hour in Windsor, Ontario, and 95 cents an hour in Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia.

In the inter-city bus industry the top wage paid to drivers was five cents a mile. Using the generally accepted rule-of-thumb that 200 miles constitute a day's work for an over-the-road bus driver, this means that our American employes of such companies as the Greyhound Corporation and its subsidiaries were receiving a maximum of \$10 per day. The Canadian over-the-road employes were paid somewhat less.

Just five short years ago old-age

pension provisions in contracts were looked upon as "something new," and to employers this something new was an object to be viewed with alarm. But even then 37.5 per cent of the Amalgamated Association's 500-plus local divisions had negotiated contracts which made it possible for the men who had given their lives to the transit industry to retire and enjoy their declining years in some degree of leisure.

Contract clauses providing for group insurance coverage in regard to death, accident, illness, hospital and surgical expenses had gained much stronger recognition in 1946. At that time the Association could boast of the fact that 71 per cent of the contracts involving its local divisions made provision for such coverage.

The same was true with the vacation-with-pay movement. This very necessary working condition had gained such wide recognition that all but 2.2 per cent of the more than 500 working agreements covering the Association's membership incorporated provisions for a brief respite from one's labors. Of these, 7.5 per cent granted the men a one-week vacation with pay, 91.3 per cent were for two weeks and 1.2 per cent allowed a maximum vacation period of three weeks.

All of these conditions have improved materially since 1945, but none of the improvements came easily. Ever since its formation nearly fifty-nine years ago, the Amalgamated Association has urged the use of voluntary arbitration as a means of settling otherwise irreconcilable disputes. To gain the adoption of this principle itself has been a tremendous



MR. SPRADLING

task. First, it had to be sold to the employers, then to the employes, our own members.

Arguing that strikes in other industries inconvenience no one and hurt no one but the participants, whereas the impact of a transit strike is felt by everyone in the community, the Amalgamated managed to impress upon the minds of the transit operators the fact that free and voluntary arbitration is the best means of settling disputes to such an extent that more than 90 per cent of all contracts involving Amalgamated members contain clauses calling for arbitration.

During the past five years, however, there has been much reluctance displayed by the employers in the transit industry toward using arbitration. As a result, more and more of our members have been forced to strike in support of their justifiable demands. This has led to acrimony and anything but a sound basis for labor-management relations.

Whether through collective bargaining, arbitration or as a result of a strike, Amalgamated members have forged steadily ahead. Five years ago the top hourly rate of \$1.32 for operators was viewed with envy by many transit employes throughout the United States. By last February the average hourly wage rate paid to operators was \$1.542, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The highest wage rate in the country paid to urban transit employes is enjoyed by our Seattle, Washington, members. They are receiving \$1.76 per hour.

The story has been similar in Can-

ada. From a high of 95 cents an hour five years ago, the members of our organization in Canada have achieved steady improvement in their wages. The new high is \$1.40 an hour, recently secured by our Windsor, Ontario, division. The members of our Toronto division are currently in negotiations, and it is likely that the honor of receiving the highest transit wage rate in the Dominion will rest there before this article appears in print.

Our inter-city members have also done well in their struggle for improvement. From a high of five cents a mile they have advanced to the present top rate of seven and 38/100 cents a mile, this rate including a four per cent allowance on each pay item. In other words, they've gone from an average of \$10 a day to \$14.76, again using the rule-of-thumb that 200 miles constitutes a day's work for these drivers. This represents an increase of almost 50 per cent during the past five years.

Many of our contracts now contain cost-of-living clauses. In most instances these have brought about higher hourly wages or mileage rates than the basic rates quoted here. For example, our Windsor members are receiving four cents an hour more than the \$1.40 basic rate previously mentioned.

In the matter of pensions Amalgamated members have done well, too. Where five years ago the union could boast of coverage of 37.5 per cent of its members, today that figure has increased to 71.8 per cent. And there has been steady improvement in the benefits paid in existing plans.

For instance, the members of our Divisions 241 and 308 in Chicago succeeded through arbitration in securing one of the most liberal pension plans in effect anywhere. Under the conditions of this plan, which replaced an earlier pension arrangement, retiring employees receive considerably more than the highly touted and much publicized \$100 a month paid to the automobile workers and the coal miners. Payments made to pensioners vary, depending upon the amount of service and their individual earnings. The retired men receive a percentage of their earnings as their monthly pensions.

How well it works out is attested to by the example of one member of Division 241 who recently retired.

His pension payments are \$131 a month—in addition to his social security benefits. Under the recently amended Social Security Act he and his wife receive \$94.10. Thus their total monthly income is \$225.10. This is by no means a carefully selected example; it was picked at random from the records of Division 241.

Gains of comparable magnitude have been made in the coverage of our members under group health and accident insurance provisions. Existing plans are consistently being made more comprehensive. Five years ago 71 per cent of our members were protected by some plan or other of this type. Today the figure has risen to 96.8 per cent.

As an example of how much these



plans have been improved, the members of our Division 616, Windsor, Ontario, now receive a \$3000 group life insurance policy, Blue Cross hospitalization and Windsor Medical Service. The entire cost of these three items is borne by the company. The medical plan includes payment for the full cost of house calls, office calls and surgery.

Vacations with pay are now enjoyed by every member of the Amalgamated Association. Every contract involving our local divisions makes provisions for paid vacations. What is more important, however, is the fact that the vacation period is becoming longer all the time.

In 1946, 7.5 per cent of the group who enjoyed vacations were granted only one week. Today that figure has shrunk to the minute total of .5 per

cent. In the same year, 91.3 per cent of the vacations granted were for a two-week period. Now there are but 61.5 per cent of our members in that category. Those members who formerly enjoyed two-week vacations now have three weeks in which to recover from the ravages of a workaday world. Fully 38 per cent of the Amalgamated members now have three-week vacations with pay, as against a mere 1.2 per cent just five years ago.

Like all labor organizations, the Amalgamated has been plagued with anti-labor legislation, both federal and state. In addition, however, organizations such as ours, whose members are employed in the public utilities field, have had to cope with state laws much more restrictive than most unions have been confronted with. The Amalgamated has spared no effort in doing battle with these labor shackling statutes.

A good case in point is that concerning the successful fight waged by the members of our Division 998 in Milwaukee. In July, 1947, the Wisconsin legislature passed a law banning strikes in public utilities and requiring compulsory arbitration. Our Milwaukee members were besieged by this infamous law practically from the outset, and they were forced to overcome one vexing obstacle after another, fighting the case through the Wisconsin courts and then before the United States Supreme Court. President Green has termed the decision of the highest tribunal in this case "a great victory for labor."

The Amalgamated is also ever mindful of the necessity to organize the unorganized and is constantly carrying on a program which we hope will eventually bring every transit worker in the United States and Canada under our banner. Remarkable gains in membership have been made during the past five years, particularly in Canada.

What the world holds in store for us in the future no one can tell, but it is certain that the members of the Amalgamated Association will not rest on their laurels. It's true that they've made much progress during the past five years, but better wages and better working conditions are still needed. More and more transit workers must be organized and given access to the economic benefits brought about by trade unionism.

EDITORIALS

by William Green

Foreign Policy

AS IS clearly evident in times of emergency, our foreign policy must have the wholehearted support of the citizens of the nation. Our country remains the principal target of a foreign foe who has declared co-existence with free institutions impossible and who is making our destruction his chief objective.

As the danger continues and the shadow reaches long into the future, our nation should be united in purpose and firm in determination. Doubts arise and conflicting proposals and diverse opinion are debated while policy action are delayed. If these uncertainties continue, the effect will be loss of confidence in leaders, lowered morale in the armed services and among those charged with carrying on civilian responsibilities. It will be obvious, too, in our defense effort—in lack of haste in awarding defense contracts because of uncertainty about military plans and in confusion over timing. From our homeland the spirit of confusion and depression may be transmitted to other nations—our allies and our enemies.

Recent events in Washington have roused queries in the minds of millions and are creating a feeling of uncertainty. There is now urgent need for the Administration to make a clear statement of purposes and of foreign policy in the light of current situations and efforts to provide collective security against aggression and other crimes against peace.

To a restive people a clear, sound, practical definition of dangers and correctives is the one means to firming purpose and strengthening the will to action. We need to deepen our conviction that aggressive, destructive communism is the enemy, operating in accord with global plans for conquest and using various agencies and methods for getting control over other men's lives. This warfare requires mobilization and rededication of our moral forces, repeated reexamination of situations at home and abroad, reevaluation of the operations of the United Nations.

Unless we move in that direction, confusion will extend to our relations with other countries, to willingness for individual and collective sacrifices and to doubting integrity of purpose. Clear moral leadership and a convincing statement of objectives, with a program of action, will galvanize determination and endurance.

From Western Europe comes the report that Communists have been alerted and briefed in their duties. Iranian oil may be the explosive to upset the balance of power in the Near East.

Our nation alone cannot save the free way of life. It is our responsibility to direct action in time for

effective response. We can and should make good on our obligations to our allies. We can and must serve as a rallying force for all groups who wish to maintain or regain their freedom. Only such groups as make freedom paramount can be trusted as allies.

There are dissidents within the U.S.S.R. who can undermine the Kremlin rule. It is the special service of our nation, with its vast resources and technical facilities, to provide those allied with us the munitions that will enable them to liberate themselves or to preserve their freedom.

Our own Navy and airpower are unmatched in military history and adequate to warrant our nation in taking the initiative in carrying out plans which we may approve. Such plans and such procedure could meet and defeat the enemy in whatever part of the world he attacks human freedom.

Only people with moral purpose and ideals value freedom. People with moral fiber and purpose are indispensable to victory against a world foe. May our government mobilize to this end and give us leadership.

Inflation

NO GREATER menace to established society could be devised than uncontrolled inflation. As prices rise to astronomical levels, money becomes valueless. Its owners hasten to exchange their money for real property before it is completely dissipated.

All of us know persons living on annuities formerly considered generous, but annuities of the 1900s have lost two-thirds of their purchasing power. Dollars paid for homes, automobiles, washing machines, etc., are almost doubled in number over prewar days. Although national product had reached the rate of \$314 billion in the first quarter of 1951, this achievement is in terms of inflated dollars. The public debt is at a high level.

It is unnecessary to list evils when every consumer has had the experience of futilely trying to get as much from his dollars as formerly. Inflation is the net result of all economic forces which increase costs of production, affect the ratio of the supply of civilian goods to consumer demands, and increase the amount of money and of national income available for consumption.

If personal incomes increase more rapidly than the supply of goods, the difference is the inflationary gap, which drives prices up. When prices rise, the costs of living rise and earnings must increase to maintain standards of living.

Inflation or deflation is the accumulative effect of everything that happens within and upon the economy

and is under joint control of all functional groups. The most effective method of approach is joint agreement by functional groups on how to deal with the problem of inflation—such agreement to be followed by simultaneous efforts to put the agreement into operation. Each group would present its views and experience and all would act on what would be best for the industry and the nation in the emergency.

No industry—not even steel—can check inflation by what it may do, acting alone. Nor can any one segment of workers. Nor can the government by higher taxation on corporations or consumers. But should all groups act together to determine and to carry out a coordinated plan, the effort would have immediate effect. There would be that equality of sacrifice and effort that would generate morale for further efforts that await us.

To roll back prices in one industry only, to curb earnings of the workers in that industry and not of other workers or investors, or to develop a consumers' price index to measure the effect of inflation on workers' standards of living different from what is provided for farmers, is sure to cause irritation due to discrimination.

The strength of any plan lies in its justice and in the participation of those concerned in its formulation. Representatives of the same groups that formulate agreements would constitute the most effective administrative agents. They would understand the purpose and the content of all orders and would be able to recognize conformity, disregard or evasion, and would have personal concern for enforcement.

By integrating the normal agencies for controlling free enterprise into defense administration, the government would benefit from the services of experienced persons in production and in the operation of industries. Such experience develops a sense of responsibility for defense and for the duties which rest upon us individually and collectively.

These are qualities which will aid in responsibility for world leadership. Leadership, as we all know, is conditioned by ability to get cooperation. In the struggle ahead, which will test the spiritual as well as the economic and military strength of our nation, we should make use of methods that encourage resourcefulness and responsibility for seeing things through. Self-government benefits free men better than regulation of details by central government.

Unions—A Moral Force

THE MOST important contribution which the trade union movement has made to American life is its development of moral standards in relations between those whose incomes depend upon employment and those who operate the industries that provide jobs. Many historians and leaders in public life have failed to realize that the heart of trade union activity is the desire for justice which flows from the exercise of basic human freedoms guaranteed all citizens by our federal and state Constitutions.

The founders of our American trade union movement modeled their basic law on the Constitution of the United

States and defined its functions in accord with a plan of delegated powers to the Federation, with all other powers reserved to the founding unions. The distribution of powers has had the effect of developing responsibility throughout the trade union system and keeping active responsibility for dealing with specific problems. However, every union affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor shares responsibility for keeping effectively available to workers basic human rights such as freedom of religion, freedom of speech, of person, safeguard against unfair imprisonment, and the right of association for the purpose of promoting their mutual welfare.

Trade union activity grows out of exercise of these basic rights by wage-earners in efforts to improve terms and conditions of work. Agents of workers meet with the employer or his agents, present the facts about situations—wages, hours, procedures in submitting grievances, hazards to health and safety. By developing in various fields standards which become accepted generally, public sanction supports such standards and non-compliance implies failure to do justice. In other words, relations between employers and workers become human problems in which natural law is the guide to justice and the unfolding of human personality. Unions are the standard-making agencies for the groups they serve. The development of standards is the first step in making contracts definite and therefore enforceable—a moral obligation upon signers.

The union has increasingly made rates of payment equitable compensation for work done as judged by quality and quantity of production, the contribution of the worker to total product and proportionate to returns from sale of product and the company's ability to pay. Fixing the hours of work standard is an adjustment of the employers' desire for maximum output at low production costs and the worker's desire to conserve his labor and earning capacity and to secure opportunity for participation in leisure and community activities.

It is no longer tolerated that employers may ignore the moral implications of work standards and treat workers as less than human beings. Unions have bombarded the organized conscience of the world with protests against forced or prison labor. More recently they have protested against forced labor by political prisoners and prisoners of war.

In addition to economic goals, the sustained efforts of unions have roused society against child labor, insanitary workshops and firetrap factories until these evils have been almost wiped out.

The driving force for justice in work relations has come from unions of workers who dedicated themselves to the task of securing better conditions of life and work for themselves, their dependents and all who join with them. Their philosophy links the union with life as well as work and union discipline has enabled them to fashion the tools by which they may day by day contribute more to society and have for themselves access to opportunities for better and higher living—living that will permit individual development, ever seeking higher levels of thinking and acting.

A FAMILY DOCTOR SPEAKS

By CHANNING FROTHINGHAM, M.D.

Chairman, Committee for the Nation's Health

MARK TWAIN once said: "A lie can travel around the world while the truth is putting on its shoes."

The lie that national health insurance is "socialized medicine" has indeed been traveling in *de luxe* style these last few years. Its cross-country jaunts have cost more than \$5,000,000. While its expensive ticket has been written by the medical lobby, it is the average physician—whether he wanted to or not—who has been made to pay the freight. For the medical lobby has financed its propaganda road show with funds extracted through "voluntary" assessments. The voluntary approach was quickly turned into compulsory \$25 dues.

Thus, the extraction has often been a painful one, the victim submitting only because he dare not risk the punishment of expulsion from his medical society and from the A.M.A. For most doctors in active practice, expulsion would mean the end of their professional careers.

But there are encouraging signs that the medical lobby is losing headway while the truth about the President's national health program is slowly but surely driving ahead. As a practicing physician I am glad to report that American doctors in increasing numbers are vigorously punching holes in the iron curtain of censorship which has so long cloaked the medical press against free and open discussion of national health insurance.

Here are some examples of the new currents which are bringing fresh new thoughts to sweep through the medical profession to clear the air:

►The Massachusetts Medical Society will press the A.M.A. this month to adopt a new policy of free discussion in the medical press for controversial matters like national health legislation.

►While the *A.M.A. Journal* bitterly criticized Bernard DeVoto's "Letter

to a Family Doctor" in the January *Harper's*, DeVoto reported in the May issue that of the ninety-one letters he received, "something over 80 per cent of them approve what I said. Every letter that was written on the letterhead of a hospital, medical school or medical foundation is favorable."

►Independent-minded doctors have increasingly braved retaliation to protest against the A.M.A.'s policies of obstruction. The protest sent by Dr. William F. Putnam of Lyme, New Hampshire, to Dr. Henderson, president of the A.M.A., strikes a responsive note among many of his colleagues. Wrote Dr. Putnam:

"I do not question your right, or that of any doctor, to object as strenuously as you please to national health insurance; mistaken though I believe you are. I do object, however, to the American Medical Association's being so set up that by the payment of dues I am forced to contribute substantially to a campaign of which I disapprove. * * *

"If it is necessary that this be interpreted as a resignation from the American Medical Association, I shall have to take the consequences. * * * I wish it were possible for me to continue to give it my support as a scientific organization without participating in what I believe to be misguided political activity."

The president of the A.M.A., incidentally, replied to Dr. Putnam's forthright letter but refused to allow his response to be made public. Here is another instance of the iron curtain drawn by A.M.A. leaders to hide from the profession itself all dissenting views.

►Thirty thousand A.M.A. members have not paid the \$25 dues for 1950, according to the A.M.A. itself, as reported in *Medical Economics*, a conservative publication.

These expressions of a new spirit developing among the medical profession toward the formation of a sound

national health program ought to be doubly gratifying to all A. F. of L. members. For out of such spirit in the past has come substantial health legislation of proven benefit to all American workers and their families. In the forefront of the fight for federal laws to promote better health for all have been President William Green and his fellow officers of the A. F. of L.

The record of the last few years reveals the gains scored by the Committee for the Nation's Health and the American Federation of Labor, working closely with many other organized groups. Let us look at the progress we have made since President Truman first stated his seven-point program designed to increase this nation's health facilities and to make them available to every family as a matter of right and not charity.

Better hospital facilities. An important step of the President's program was enacted in 1949 through a federal program to help local communities build and maintain more and better-equipped hospitals.

Medical research. A second victory toward a comprehensive national health program was achieved last year when federal funds were voted to speed medical research against such common killers as cancer, heart diseases, tuberculosis and diabetes.

Maternal and child health program. This measure to save lives and thus strengthen the American family was also enacted in 1950 through passage of the revised Social Security Act.

It is worth noting that each of these parts of the seven-point program—now public law—has been operating free of federal or bureaucratic control. Each has actually strengthened and benefited doctors and patients alike under the present practice of American medicine. Each measure has helped strengthen our people and thereby strengthens our democracy.

We have come far together toward

our national health goal. But there is much more to be done. Now the national emergency imparts new urgency to our common task of shoring up the nation's health defenses. President Truman has warned the country:

"If we are to meet successfully the challenge that confronts this nation, we can less than ever afford to waste the good health of our people."

Imperative to the good health of our people is the immediate passage of two or more parts of the President's program. The first is S. 337—federal aid to help train more doctors, dentists, nurses and other needed health professionals.

Our nation will soon face a shortage estimated between 15,000 and 22,000 physicians, according to leading authorities, including A.M.A. spokesmen. As I write, this measure, sponsored by seven Democratic and six Republican Senators, is awaiting debate on the floor of the Senate. *Unless this bill is passed, there may not be enough doctors to take care of our armed forces and our civilian needs.*

Equally important is another measure, endorsed by the A. F. of L., to bring all our communities the benefits of preventive medicine gained through adequate local public health departments. Such units are a necessity to guard our health in peacetime. As the nation mobilizes its civil defenses against the threat of atomic and bacteriological warfare, the local public health department becomes part of our first line of defense. But today 40,000,000 Americans live in communities without the protection of full-time local health departments.

This much-needed measure passed the Senate by a narrow margin in April and is awaiting action in the House. On the outcome of these two measures may well depend the health of our nation.

Against both of these measures stands the medical lobby. It has raised its usual cry of "socialized medicine."

But the nation's needs for more doctors and for local public health departments are too appallingly clear for any amount of propaganda to obscure. Working together with the A. F. of L. against the propaganda of the medical lobby is a strong coalition of professional and lay groups.

Among the former are the Associa-

tion of American Medical Colleges, the Association of Schools of Public Health, the American Dental Association, the National Health Council and six other outstanding professional bodies. These are joined by the deans of most of the nation's seventy-nine medical schools. Among the national non-professional organizations, representing millions of Americans, are the National Grange, the National Farmers Union, the American Veterans Committee, the American Legion and many other leading groups.

Slowly but surely, the truth is winning through against medical lobby propaganda in important phases of the President's national health program.

But what of the President's final and most important recommendation—national health insurance to help American families *prepay* their medical bills? What of the ridiculous "socialized medicine" cry which the medical lobby has raised so loudly and continuously against a sound and long-overdue extension of social security protection?

Here, too, there have been important, hard-won gains since the 1930s, when the American Federation of Labor, together with liberal physicians, pioneered in developing health insurance programs. Through the years the American Medical Association has contested these plans and condemned endorsements of such plans as "socialism and communism—inciting to revolution."

But against the soundness of health insurance as a means of prepaying doctor and hospital bills the noisy protests of the A.M.A. proved useless. Voluntary insurance spread, although organized medicine used legal restrictions to limit its growth and tried to mete out the most severe penalties against progressive doctors and hospitals which served in these voluntary programs.

Now the medical lobby has come to pay lip service at least to the same voluntary health insurance plans which it once condemned. But meanwhile liberal physicians and the public have moved forward by proposing that health insurance be made universal—to protect American families by law against the crippling costs of doctor and hospital bills.

Just as labor proudly pioneered in developing voluntary plans, so now

labor is proudly pioneering in its universal extension by law to cover all families. For only through a nationwide program of health insurance can each of us get the maximum benefit from this better, easier, cheaper way of paying for medical care. Under national health insurance each insured family would enjoy every existing advantage we have come to expect from voluntary plans. And we would gain three new benefits to health and pocketbook alike.

First, economy. Because national health insurance would be nationwide and would cover most of us by law, the administrative costs would be considerably less than in most voluntary plans today.

Second, greater protection. The amount of medical and hospital care which would be insured would be much greater than offered by the voluntary plans approved by organized medicine.

Third, national health insurance would end the present risk of losing insurance protection if you change your job. Or move to another location. Or come down with a chronic disease. Or pass the 60-to-65 age limit, at which point so many present voluntary plans exclude you altogether or reduce benefits substantially.

National health insurance is coming, for it is part of the pattern of our democratic social security system. American families have gained substantial protection from three of the economic risks which follow in the wake of four terrible hazards which face all of us—accidents on

DON'T LOSE BENEFITS

Social security pays monthly benefits to retired workers at age 65 and to the family when the worker dies. But the benefits are paid only if claimed. It is tragic for workers and survivors entitled to these benefits to be losing them through negligence. Don't guess! Inquire at your local social security office. If qualified for benefits, don't fail to file your claim.

the job, loss of employment through no fault of our own, old age and death.

For our present social security system, every family owes a large measure of thanks to the A. F. of L. In this continuing fight to close the last gap—sickness costs—the aid of every A. F. of L. member is needed. We must work together to help truth defeat three propaganda myths:

Truth: NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE IS NOT SOCIALIZED MEDICINE.

The government would *not* employ doctors or run hospitals. It would *not* interfere with present private relations between doctors and patients. National health insurance would strengthen the *private* practice of medicine. The financial aid it gives doctors and patients would promote better relations by removing the dollar barrier. The President's plan is our best way to prevent the growth of tax-paid socialized medicine which threatens private practice.

Truth: NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE GUARANTEES YOUR FREE CHOICE OF YOUR OWN DOCTOR, HOSPITAL, NURSE.

Your doctor has free choice. He remains in private practice of medicine, free to accept or reject patients. Hospitals, too, remain wholly free of federal control. Your doctor chooses whether to participate in the plan and decides his method of payment. Laymen and doctors run the plan in each locality. The federal government only collects premiums (along with social security) and sets the broad general standards. There is no federal red tape for either you or your doctor.

Truth: NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE MEANS BETTER HEALTH FOR YOUR FAMILY AND FREEDOM FROM UNEXPECTED SICKNESS COSTS.

You and your family would get needed medical care as your right, with emphasis on preventive medicine and early diagnosis. No more risk of staggering medical bills or taking tax-supported charity medicine. You would prepay medical care through a 1½ per cent payroll premium on the first \$4800 of income. On a wage-earner's salary of \$70 a week, for example, this would mean \$1.05, with a like amount contributed by the em-

ployer. And through collective bargaining union members can negotiate for total payment by employers.

Workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, social security against the financial hazards of old age and death—these are the familiar gains of the past. They are assurance that each day brings us closer to the time when we shall be sufficiently civilized to believe that everyone should have an equal opportunity for good health as a matter of simple human right.

Today 75,000,000 Americans, half our people, have no insurance protection whatsoever against doctor and hospital bills.

Through national health insurance the benefits of *comprehensive* protection, which today are enjoyed by less than 3 per cent of our families, can be extended to the great majority of our people.

And when national health insurance is added to our statute books as the law of the land, it will mean a bright new day in American medicine, a new era in human happiness.

The Rehabilitation of a Retail Clerk

THE rehabilitation of Loren Heatley, a member of the Retail Clerks International Association in Bakersfield, California, took the combined efforts of seven American Federation of Labor building trades union, several individuals and the state of California. But when it was achieved, everybody agreed the exertions had been worthwhile.

Mr. Heatley is still in his early thirties but so crippled with rheumatoid arthritis that he has only limited movement in his arms and neck, none at all in his legs. About three years ago the State Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, in partnership with the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency, helped him set up a small refreshment concession on the grounds of the Kern County General Hospital at Bakersfield, where he was confined by his ailment.

A change in hospital policy, however, closed the concession stand. Mr. Heatley then called in Howard O. Roland, B.V.R. counselor, to see whether a stand could be opened across the street. Roland agreed such a stand would pay, but there was no building there and the B.V.R. had no authority to advance capital to construct one.

Harry H. Hollins, energetic editor of the Kern County Union Labor Journal, central labor union weekly, knew Mr. Heatley; as did many other union members. Brother Hollins agreed to help. To make a long story short, here's what happened:



Brother Heatley and friends

Mr. Roland had the lot rezoned commercial to permit building the stand, obtained the necessary licenses and also helped negotiate a small loan to get the project started.

Local 220, Laborers, dug the foundation.

Local 743 of the Carpenters contributed \$243, from union funds and individuals, and furnished all the carpenter labor.

Local 191, Plasterers and Cement Finishers, did the plastering.

Local 300, Lathers, furnished the labor for lathing and individual members contributed the lath, plaster and materials.

Local 428 of the Electrical Workers donated labor for the electrical installation.

Local 460, Plumbers, installed the plumbing.

Local 314, Painters, supplied paint and contributed its labor.

Several firms helped out with contributions of materials. A local contractor supervised the job. Now Brother Heatley is economically independent and has moved from the Kern County hospital to a room near his store, commuting back and forth between his room and place of business in his electrically powered automobile.

Counselors like Howard Roland stand ready in all forty-eight states, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia to help disabled men and women who need to work for a living. The vocational counselor is a handy person for union officials and members to know.

The defense program needs not only every able-bodied man and woman but disabled persons as well.

If you or a friend could benefit from counseling services to obtain a job, get in touch with the nearest rehabilitation counselor or write a letter to the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D. C.

Darkness in the Valley

By HANK HASIWAR

*Director of Organization,
National Farm Labor Union*

OF the Imperial Valley it is boasted by the Chamber of Commerce that it is the place "where the sun spends the winter." The leading winter vegetable producing area in the United States, the Imperial Valley has an outward serenity. Actually, however, it is an area of tremendous tensions.

The Imperial Valley has an agricultural economy which is typical of most of California farming. Crops valued at well over \$100,000,000 a year are produced in an area approximately forty-five miles long and thirty miles wide. This is not the home of modest family farms. The Imperial Valley is a fast-moving, cash-crop setup controlled by speculators and corporate interests that are tied in closely with Big Business.

One hundred huge agricultural enterprises in the Valley control 50 per cent of the most productive land and do their own packing and shipping. The 4,679 other farmers control the other 50 per cent, much of which is marginal land. In the Imperial Valley, as in most of California, the powerful corporation farmers "farm the farmer."

Typical of the Valley's industrialized farming is the O'Dwyer-Mets enterprise, which consists of 1,750 acres of irrigated land valued at over \$500 an acre and devoted to highly productive and lucrative crops. The owners are Frank O'Dwyer, brother of Ambassador William O'Dwyer, the former mayor of New York, and Keith Mets, president of the Imperial Valley Farmers Association.

Farm workers in the Imperial Valley are ruthlessly treated by the big employers. The latter follow the program of the notorious Associated Farmers. The vicious methods of the Associated Farmers have been publicized in labor and other publications.

Nowadays the Associated Farmers operate behind front organizations. They are using new methods to frustrate the unionization of American

farm workers. In their greed for more power and even greater profits they have turned to the huge sources of cheap and docile labor to be found just a few miles from their operations—the Mexican border.

Here, with the help of the United States and Mexican governments and at the expense of American taxpayers, an unending stream of foreign labor can be siphoned in to work for almost nothing. These foreign workers are kicked around by the corporate farm employers as they please. Labor recruiting through contracts acquired with United States and Mexican government assistance and the supplement of armies of Mexican illegals, or "wetbacks," make it almost unnecessary for the potent Imperial Valley operators to rely on any domestic, resident farm workers to harvest their lucrative crops.

Over the last ten years large numbers of domestic, resident farm workers have been displaced from the Imperial Valley. In one small town, Calipatria, 300 native American families of Mexican origin resided ten years ago and worked on farms; now only nine remain. The Mexican-American workers in the Imperial Valley, who number some 8,000 in

the agricultural work force, are now only supplemental labor to the Mexican nationals. The local resident farm workers, who at one time harvested 100 per cent of the Imperial Valley's crops, now harvest no more than 50 per cent. The contract Mexican nationals now have the permanent jobs, and the wetbacks and local farm workers fill in where and as needed.

The Imperial Valley work force contains some 5,000 Mexican nationals working under contract. They are imported under a procedure set up by our government and the Mexican government during the last war. The American labor movement was not present during those negotiations, not having been invited, but the powerful employers and their Congressional stooges were on hand.

The wage rates paid to contract Mexican workers are set arbitrarily by the big farmers. The prevailing wage in the Imperial Valley is whatever these big farmers say it is; the United States Employment Service and the Mexican government always agree.

Those who have come across the border illegally, the wetbacks, number about the same as the contract



Wetbacks constitute 80 per cent of this crew in the Imperial Valley



Workers view field from which they've been displaced by wetbacks

nationals in the Valley—5,000. Although the vast majority of wetbacks work in agriculture, a substantial number find employment in other trades and occupations. A craft can't be named where wetbacks in the Imperial Valley are not employed. Some of the illegal immigrants even manage to get into the unions, and many have social security cards and have been known to draw unemployment insurance.

The building trades unions are apprehensive that increased importation of such labor can undermine them. A very conservative Los Angeles newspaper has estimated that 40 per cent of all wetbacks go into occupations other than agriculture.

The Immigration Service last year deported 230,000 wetbacks from California alone, many of them repeaters. However, the deported wetbacks always return—and they bring plenty of company with them. It goes without saying that the repeaters and their companions are all the wiser in how to get around.

In 1949 Professor George Sanchez of the University of Texas completed a survey of the wetback tide. He estimated at that time that there were 500,000 wetbacks in the United States. The *New York Times*, in a recent series of articles on the problems presented by the illegal immigrants from Mexico, placed the total at 1,000,000.

Every rumor that labor is to be contracted for United States farm work brings more and more workers from the interior of Mexico to the

American border. People from the interior arrive in Mexicali, Mexico, the gateway to the Imperial Valley and California, at the rate of 1,200 per week, it has been estimated.

The corporation farmers are happy at the great influx of cheap labor. They are delighted. They are not interested in the plight of American citizens whose existence, already sub-standard, is made even more tragic when they are displaced and left unemployed.

Interestingly enough, no furore is raised either by government agencies or by the corporation farmers over the grave danger to national security involved in our wide-open border. The *Los Angeles News* in a series of articles has said that Communist agents are using the wetback invasions for Stalin's purposes. The National Farm Labor Union can substantiate much of this. It is a fact that the Mexican Communist Party is well aware of the opportunity to infiltrate the United States. It is also a fact that Communists are coming over with the wetbacks.

The first recruitment agreement for Mexican labor in 1943 was analyzed by the National Farm Labor Union as giving unheard-of powers to government negotiators to fix labor's wages and working conditions without even the semblance of consultation of labor. Could any procedure be more undemocratic than that? It was pointed out by the National Farm Labor Union that this might easily become the back door of a sneak attack on the entire fabric of

American labor's working and living standards.

Since 1943 this analysis has been fully substantiated by events. Constitutional and statutory guarantees of fair labor standards have been abandoned by the contracting governments. Wage levels, already very low, have been slashed as much as 50 per cent. In our agricultural areas a wage freeze has been in operation for some years by diplomatic fiat of the United States and Mexican governments. As previously indicated, the Imperial Valley wage rate was set by government officials without any examination as to prevailing wages in the area and without consultation with labor. It was done simply on the say-so of the Imperial Valley Farmers Association, the organization of the employers.

As an individual, the imported Mexican national working under contract soon finds the land of opportunity not at all what he thought it would be. He finds his wage rate of 60 cents an hour whittled down by living costs in the farmers' camps to the point where he is lucky to draw \$2 per day.

He is switched from farmer to farmer without his consent. He is forced to do piecework for less than the 60-cent standard. He does not get the work guaranteed to him under contract. Seventy-five per cent of the time he is mixed with crews of illegal entrants, the wetbacks.

He is prevented from being directly represented by a union. He has no one to go to for redress of his grievances except the Mexican consul, who is probably several hundred miles away and usually not eager to be bothered with "petty" grievances of a worker.

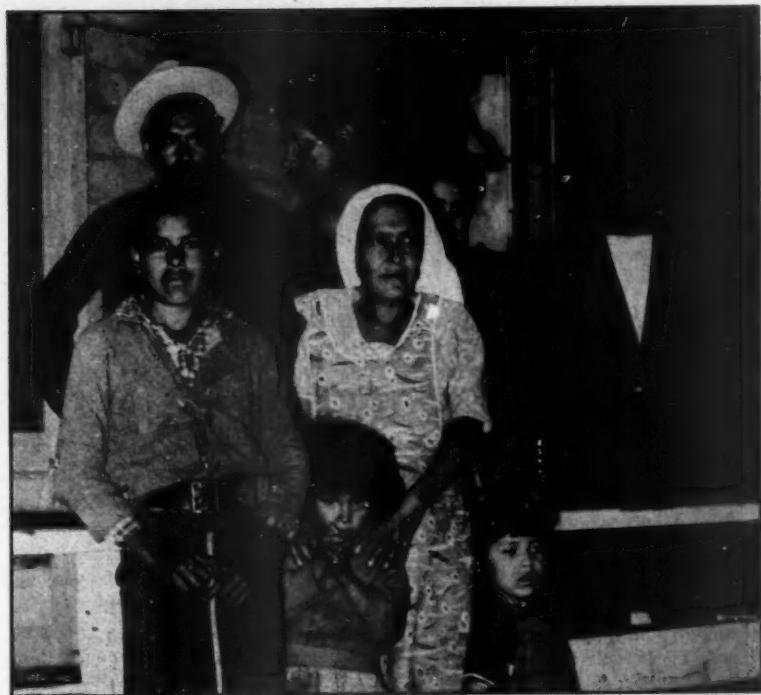
This process has been going on ever since the initiation of the agreements, but no policing of any consequence has been set up to eliminate abuses. A group of Mexican nationals who returned to Mexico after having worked in the United States formed a union to cut down the rate of exploitation. Known as the Alianza Nacional de Braceros de Mexico, it has sought to persuade the Mexican government to force the big growers at least to abide by the provisions of the labor importation agreement.

These efforts have been as unsuccessful as those of the National

Farm Labor Union in getting the State Department, the Department of Justice and the United States Employment Service to do likewise. The Departments of Labor, Justice and State have refused to receive appeals, hold open hearings of record and prosecute open and confessed violations of United States laws and of the international agreements with Mexico. This is indicative of the iron control which the corporate farm lobbies have over the government agencies insofar as this subject is concerned.

U.S. employment officials received over thirty documented charges from the National Farm Labor Union in the past year. Not one of these charges has been examined in open hearing according to accepted standards of administrative procedure. Why are agencies of the federal government creating roadblocks to prevent labor generally and the public from gaining knowledge of what is happening?

The United States and Mexican governments are about to renegotiate the basic agreement on importation of labor. In preliminary negotiations last February in Mexico City, the American Federation of Labor representative, Ernesto Galarza, and the Railway Labor Executives' representative, Frank Noakes, were frozen out. The Mexican government, during the negotiations, even issued orders that if any officials of Mexican labor organizations held mass meetings to be addressed by American labor representatives, they would be subject to arrest. Later the Mexican government announced that it was filing charges against the Alianza Nacional de Braceros for illegally



Toilers from Mexico are completely at the mercy of big employers

contracting labor jointly with the National Farm Labor Union.

The National Farm Labor Union has an agreement with the Alianza Nacional to work together to prevent undue exploitation of the *braceros* in this country. Apparently it is not desired by those in power that any labor unions should snarl the big payoff in the agricultural labor contracting racket. And, of course, American corporation farmers do not want the Mexicano workers to be represented and protected by any union in the United States.

The fantastic game of making sport with men's lives has an excellent

arena in the Imperial Valley. Here, where American farm workers are employed only after the Mexican contract nationals and the Mexican wetbacks are on the job, is an excellent place to view the sordid picture of big farmers, U.S. government agencies and the Mexican government all working together to defraud American and Mexican labor of their elementary rights.

On March 6 representatives of the National Farm Labor Union found illegal aliens working alongside contract nationals on the O'Dwyer-Mets farm. This was in violation of the United States-Mexican agreement. Protests were made to the Immigration Service. The O'Dwyer-Mets farm was raided by border patrolmen, and 300 wetbacks were apprehended and deported out of a crew of 380.

Telegrams to Secretary of Labor Tobin elicited a statement by a spokesman for the Labor Department in Washington that an investigation had been ordered as a result of the union's request for cancellation of the contracts held by Mets and O'Dwyer to employ Mexican nationals imported under legal contract. A representative of the Labor Department was sent out to make an investigation. The Labor Department representative never con-

(Continued on Page 31)



Their parents have lost their jobs because of influx from Mexico

We Share Our KNOW-HOW

By LEE W. MINTON

*President, Glass Bottle Blowers Association;
Joint Secretary, Anglo-American Council
on Productivity, United States Section*

IT IS taking more than American money to bring about the revival of our allies in Western Europe. It is also taking moral and spiritual encouragement and, even more important, a generous sharing of our knowledge of efficient agricultural and industrial production methods.

The Marshall Plan, the product of the intelligence, vitality and generosity of the American people, has from the first stressed increased production as a vital necessity if Europe is to have a rich soil in which freedom and prosperity can be maintained and developed.

How best to impart our rapid and successful American production methods to the plants, factories and mines of our European friends?

Early in 1948 this question was discussed in London by Paul Hoffman, then ECA chief, and Sir Stafford Cripps, then Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer. Out of their conversation came the conclusion that a

wise and practical way was to bring American and British labor and management together for frank discussions of how to raise industrial productivity and to exchange knowledge.

It was also considered highly desirable that British representatives of labor and management should have the opportunity to observe first-hand America's system of turning out manufactured goods quickly and in great quantities.

Plans then were laid and carried out for bringing into existence a unique organization—a government-financed project directed by voluntary labor and management representatives. This project was named the Anglo-American Council on Productivity. Its initial meetings were held in London on October 25, 1948.

The Anglo-American Council on Productivity consists of two parts, the American section and the British section. The U.S. section is made up of the writer, representing the Ameri-



MR. MINTON

can Federation of Labor; A. J. Hayes of the International Association of Machinists, Victor Reuther of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Thomas J. Harkins of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, all representing labor; and Philip Reed, chairman of the board of General Electric, Ira Mosher of Ira Mosher Associates, J. Spencer Love, chairman of the board of Burlington Mills, Stanley Holme, assistant to the chairman of the board of General Electric, and Charles Allyn, president of the National Cash Register Company, representing management.

During the American section's original meeting ECA Administrator Hoffman emphasized the fact that the Council on Productivity would operate on its own, without interference from government. This has been a windfall to the Council. It has had freedom of action, unhampered by red tape and other delaying problems. The Council works within the federal statute governing Marshall Plan aid, but its freedom of action has been one of the reasons for its successful operation.

Labor members of the Council in the British section include these representatives of the Trades Union Congress: Lincoln Evans, Arthur Deakin, Will Lawther, Jack Tanner and Tom Williamson.

In the beginning there was much skepticism whether the ambitious aims of the Council on Productivity would be achieved. Would the British accept American ideas? Could American methods be applied to the British production pattern?

It has been definitely understood

British visitors observe a production process at American factory



from the beginning that the entire program is a two-way plan. American labor and American industry have obtained very definite progressive ideas from the Council's operation. It is hoped that in the near future reverse-flow teams of American labor and management will take a look at British industry.

After two years of operation most of the questions have been answered in the affirmative. The British have examined our production methods and have profited greatly from their experiences and observations. American labor and management, for their part, have conclusively shown how they can work together to assist the free nations of the world to raise production of manufactured goods, and accordingly raise the living standards of those countries.

In fact, the Anglo-American Council on Productivity has achieved such remarkable success in stimulating production and creating a better understanding between the United States and Britain that it has been pointed to as a model for Point Four.

THE outstanding mark of this successful international operation is that labor and management have shown that, working together, they can, without excessive waste of governmental energy and manpower, lead the free world to a system of bountiful production and high living standards. Is it too far-fetched to envision similar operations in the future for India, Indonesia and other countries needing technical assistance?

The operational methods of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity have become standardized, and the ease with which it operates may explain to some degree the lack of fanfare relative to its accomplishments.

The British section of the Council decides which industry in that country should receive the benefits of a first-hand look at its counterpart in the United States. It notifies the American section of the Council of its selection, and the American section then goes to work and outlines an itinerary of six weeks' duration.

When the British delegation, composed of equal numbers of plant workers, technicians and management representatives, arrives in America, the delegation is presented with a carefully worked out schedule of visits

to key plants. There they examine production techniques, talk with company officials, engineers, on-the-job plant workers and union officials. In many instances the entire British delegation is the guest of management or labor for technical sessions, for conferences and other meetings.

When the six weeks' visit is completed, the delegation returns to Britain. As soon as possible thereafter, printed reports of its findings are circulated throughout its industry. These reports are of a technical nature and have proved to be of great value, not only to British industry but to American industry as well, because of the over-all nature of their findings.

Steel production is reported to be up 25 per cent in Britain as a result of applying American methods. As other industries adopt new techniques and improve old ones, similar satisfactory results are expected. The productivity teams which have visited America include steel founders, rayon weavers, drop forge, pressed metal, building trades, cotton, industrial engines, men's clothing, electricity supply, fertilizer manufacturing, electric starting and control gear, locomotives, paper box manufacture, gray iron founders, printing, meat processing and packing, brass foundry, hosiery and knitwear, non-ferrous metal, agriculture, hop growing, picking and drying, brush industry, shoe manufacture, pharmaceutical industry and valve industry.

Well over a score of the delegations have issued their reports and others are coming off the press at regular intervals.

The manner in which the officers

and members of the American Federation of Labor have supported the Anglo-American Council on Productivity and its aims is best evidenced by the letters and remembrances which have been arriving here from Britain since the first visits of the industrial delegations.

The main purpose of the Council, of course, is to increase productivity. However, the friendships being built up through personal contacts by citizens of two great and friendly nations is of high importance, too.

It is impossible to pay tribute here to all the generous assistance given by our organizations, but let it be said that more than twenty-five presidents of A. F. of L. international unions have personally participated in the work of the Council. In addition, hundreds of union representatives and thousands of in-the-plant workers have popularized the American Federation of Labor with our British friends by painstakingly showing them our methods of doing things and otherwise extending cooperation in every way possible.

Perhaps the most friendly gesture A. F. of L. members have extended to their British counterparts under the Council's program has been inviting them to their homes and displaying our American hospitality.

The American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress have been friends for almost three-quarters of a century. There is no question that this friendship is being strengthened through the many contacts made possible by the work of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity.

20 Years Ago in the FEDERATIONIST

IF WE have not in our several countries the brains, the ability and the cooperative spirit necessary to cure such worldwide conditions as those in which we now find ourselves, then our mass production, our scientific progress, our control over nature may actually destroy civilization.

IT IS ridiculous to speak of unemployment as a necessary condition of

human society. It is nothing more than a maladjustment of its machinery. It is a blot on our intelligence.

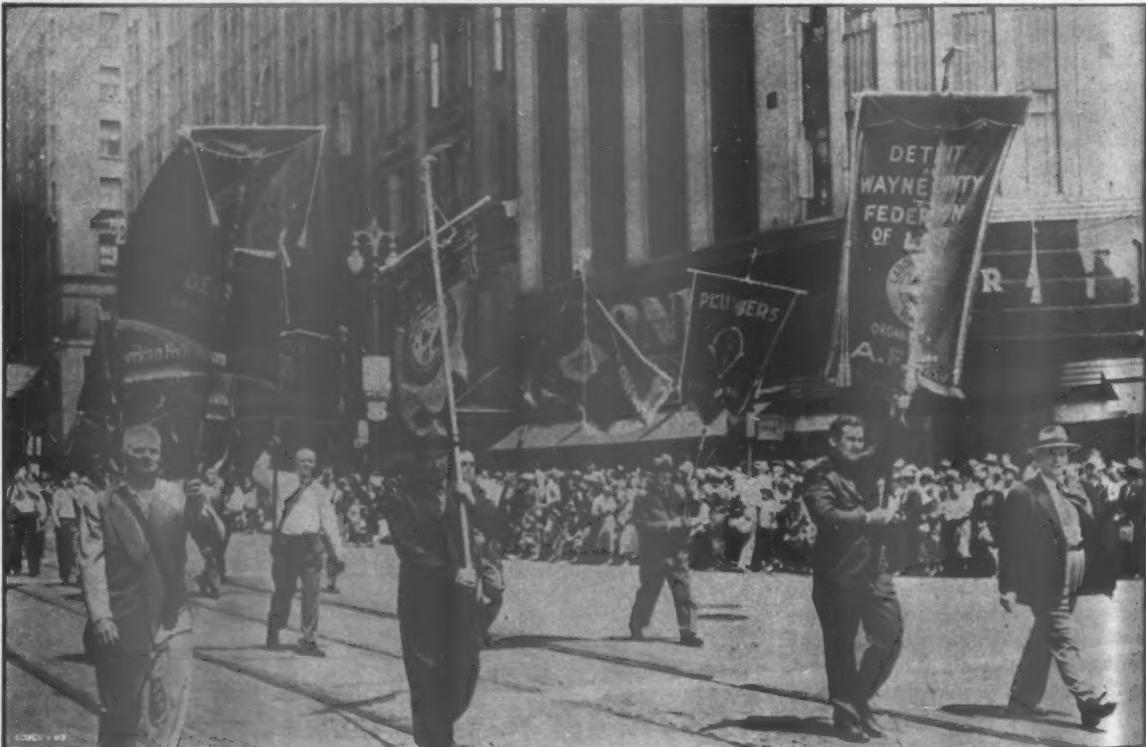
WHEN your children realize what the union movement has done for them and how necessary it is not only for the advancement of wage-earners but for the economic well-being of the whole nation, they will carry into their educational development and life activities an appreciation of the union as a constructive agency which should be utilized as a force for social and economic progress.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS



Senator Neely of West Virginia (left) receives scroll from C.F. Preller, president of the Washington, D.C., Central Labor Union

Detroit A. F. of L. unions proudly take part in Armed Forces Day parade down Woodward Avenue



►Local 70, Brotherhood of Teamsters, has obtained a pay increase of \$1 per day for approximately 2,200 members working for employers belonging to the Draymen's Association of Alameda County in California.

►The Carpenters District Council and the Construction Contractors Council in Washington, D. C., have agreed on a wage increase of 10 per cent, one-half effective immediately and one-half in October.

►A. F. of L. Chemical Workers and the Monsanto Chemical Company, Everett, Mass., have reached agreement on a 10 per cent wage increase for the plant's 900 hourly employees.

►The Laborers at Racine, Wis., have signed a new agreement with contractors' associations providing for a 10 per cent retroactive increase in wages.

►Lodge 1663, Machinists, after a strike at the Thermoid Rubber Com-

pany, Nephi, Utah, has won a new contract providing for a wage increase and including an escalator clause.

►Members of locals of the Carpenters in St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., have voted to accept the employers' offer of a 21-cent increase in the hourly wage rate.

►Local 10, Typographical Union, has obtained a cost-of-living increase for members employed on the *Courier-Journal* and *Times*, Louisville, Ky., newspapers.

►Local 802, Musicians, has ended a strike against Station WINS, New York City, with the winning of a pay increase and reinstatement of the strikers.

►Local 1092, Retail Clerks, announces acceptance of the employers' offer of weekly wage increases of \$3 to \$4 for members in Portland, Ore., and vicinity.

►Local 15, Chemical Workers, has secured an hourly pay increase of 10 cents in a new contract with Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Company at Clarksville, Ind.

►Local 333 of the Painters announces agreement on a new hourly scale of \$2.47 for union sign painters in the San Diego, Calif., area.



**Henry Rutz addresses May Day labor rally held in West Berlin.
He voiced a 'message of hope' to workers behind Iron Curtain**

►Local 60, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, has ratified a new one-year contract with 500 delicatessen stores and restaurants in Greater New York providing a \$5 weekly wage increase and a pension plan.

►Local 10, Retail Clerks, has been selected by A. and P. employes at Fort Wayne, Ind., to represent them in negotiations with management.

►Local 455, Confectionery Workers, has gained a wage increase at the

Chuckles plant of the Amend Company, Danville, Ill.

►Local 42, Millmen, has secured an hourly increase of 12½ cents for members employed in San Francisco.

►A 12-cent increase in the hourly wage rate has been secured by the Carpenters at Racine, Wis.

►Local 495, Iron Workers, reports a 10-cent hourly hike in wages for members in the El Paso, Tex., area.

Wives loyal to union cause make up this auxiliary of Machinists' Lodge 713 at Augusta, Georgia





Robert Ramspeck (left) and Leo George, president of A. F. of L. Postal Clerks. Mr. Ramspeck heads Civil Service Commission

►Local 132, Laborers, has consummated a new agreement with major building contractors in St. Paul, Minn., which lifts the minimum wage to \$1.67 an hour.

►Local 348, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, has completed wage negotiations with employers which resulted

in a 10 per cent increase for all members at Oregon City, Ore.

►Local 43, Bakery Workers, has won a wage increase of 10 per cent at wholesale baking plants from Madera to Porterville, Calif., with employers promising an automatic additional increase if the wage freeze is relaxed.

Substandard Wages in Inflation

(Continued from Page 5)

one-half times as much! Yet it is a fact that, under the 10 per cent wage freeze formula, the average manufacturing worker is permitted an increase of 16 cents an hour, while the average laundry worker is not permitted an increase in excess of the maximum set at less than 9 cents an hour.

In service and trade industries, employing 16,000,000 workers, there are vast areas of substandard pay. Some 1,500,000 workers employed in general merchandise stores averaged \$1.03 an hour in March, 1951. Around 575,000 workers in apparel stores earned \$1.16. Some 150,000 cleaning and dyeing workers got \$1.06; 350,000 laundry workers got 89 cents; hotel workers averaged 81.

But these are *average* earnings. A great mass of these service and trade workers received even less. Most of these workers are without the protection of the 75-cent minimum provided in the Fair Labor Standards Act. Some states have legal minimums as low as 40 cents. A number of states have no legal minimum of any kind.

A large proportion of service and trade workers, perhaps two-thirds, are still unorganized, while more than four-fifths of manufacturing workers are now trade unionists. This largely accounts for the substandard status of many of the workers in service and trade occupations.

It would be folly to "freeze in" the gross disparities in wages between manufacturing, mining, construction, transportation and related industries on the one hand and trade and service industries on the other. It would be even greater folly to apply a regressive wage policy to trade, service and other low-paid workers under wage stabilization.

Such a course would have a crippling effect on our economy in the future. Technological advances and rapid growth in industrial productivity have greatly enhanced the role of trade and service industries. We cannot leave one-third of our non-farm workers to the fate of a chronic substandard of living, to be permanently underpaid, without jeopardizing

►Local 595, Bartenders and Restaurant Workers, have had their wages increased 10 per cent under a new agreement with 450 independent restaurant and tavern owners in Alameda County, California.

►Employes of the Altmour Furniture Company plant, Knoxville, Tenn., have voted overwhelmingly for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to represent them in collective bargaining with the firm.

►Local 64, Building Service Employes, and the management of the Hamm Building, St. Paul, Minn., have agreed upon a 10 per cent wage increase for building workers.

►The Laborers in Western Missouri are enjoying a wage increase of 15 cents an hour, won through negotiations with the Builders Association of Greater Kansas City.

►The Building and Construction Trades Council of Philadelphia has won a 10 per cent across-the-board wage increase for 15,000 workers.

►The Brick and Clay Workers have won a wage boost in Western Indiana.

the balanced growth of our whole economy.

The new Wage Stabilization Board ought to consider urgently the following steps:

(1) Modify the flat percentage wage ceiling.

(2) Establish a level of, say, \$1.20 an hour and \$48 a week as one below which increases, agreed to through collective bargaining, would be permitted in excess of any general wage formula without the approval of the Board, as a matter of correcting substandard wages.

(3) Permit time and one-half overtime rate of pay for work in excess of eight hours a day, forty hours a week, and for the sixth day in the workweek, independent of and without an offset against any general limitation formula, such as we now have in effect.

These would be the first steps toward a wage stabilization policy giving realistic recognition to the substandard wage problem and the need to gear the dynamic forces of our economy to the task of building a stronger and healthier America.

Darkness in the Valley

(Continued from Page 25)



Mexican workers. Toward them U.S. labor's feelings are friendly. ire is fixed on operators, who milk both Americans and Mexicans

tacted the union representatives, nor were any hearings of record held. He merely consulted with O'Dwyer and Mets.

Upon a written demand by the union for action in the case, this agent of the United States Labor

Department reported that he was making a recommendation to "minimize future violations" of the international agreement.

The National Farm Labor Union now represents 2,000 resident farm workers in the Imperial Valley. The

union and its members are determined a stand must be made now. They are determined to fight for what they believe is right and necessary for their very existence.

The union wants to negotiate wage increases. The union wants resident farm workers to go on the job first and get permanent employment rather than the contract nationals from Mexico. It demands that the farmers not hire illegal wetbacks. The union insists that the Mexican nationals should have the right to union representation and enjoy equal standards with American workers. The union will continue to fight for control of the flow of imported labor so as to protect American standards for all workers.

The National Farm Labor Union is convinced that what has been happening in the Imperial Valley is part of a pernicious pattern now coming to the fore which aims at the destruction of the effectiveness of the American labor movement. This evil pattern can be shattered by sufficiently unifying all organized labor under a militant program.

As recent Washington experiences indicate, the time is overripe for organized labor to take the lead as never before. In the last analysis, economic and political democracy in our country depends on what action organized labor takes.

The Council at Chicago

(Continued from Page 3)

tion" the preservation of the rights and benefits provided the Japanese people in their postwar constitution.

The A. F. of L. leaders called for passage of a defense housing bill to provide homes for workers at rents they can afford to pay in the defense areas of the country and said that "low-income families now living in slums should receive consideration second only to defense workers in the nation's housing program."

The Council urged more effective restrictions against the building of luxury houses and asked modification of Regulation X to permit lower down payments for lower-priced homes.

A substantial pay increase for federal workers was called for by the Council. Congress was told to reject "ill-conceived attempts" to hold down

the size of the increase to a wholly inadequate figure. The Council emphasized that "inadequate salaries have done more to demoralize government employees than any other factor."

To the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Council pledged every assistance within its power to balk the threats of invasion of the union's jurisdiction by Harry Bridges' Communist-tainted Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

An international union charter was granted by the Council to the Insurance Agents International Union. The new international grew out of the National Federation of Insurance Agents' Council.

For its next meeting the Executive Council selected Montreal, Canada.



For people who like—and must have—food for their minds as well as for their stomachs!

Labor's magazine is modern, interesting, worthwhile. It makes an excellent and inexpensive gift for intelligent citizens, young or old. One year (12 issues) for only \$2.

Mail check or money order to American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington. Gift card will be sent on request.

WHAT THEY SAY

David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union—



More and more, our country is going to have close relations with nations that are labor-minded. Under these circumstances our government needs representatives who know first-hand the aims and aspirations of free labor, who understand, without benefit of special experts, the language free labor speaks throughout the world. Realizing the great importance of world labor and American organized labor in the tense international situation, I suggest that there should be selected an Assistant Secretary of State to deal with labor affairs on a world scale. A competent, authoritative trade unionist should be chosen to direct this work. In addition, a leading trade union spokesman should be designated as a permanent and full member of the American delegation to the United Nations. These proposals are not made because we want political favors. We are firmly convinced that without such active and direct representation and participation by American labor, our government cannot pursue an effective and consistent democratic foreign policy.

Alben W. Barkley, Vice-President of the United States—

There are two kinds of free enterprise in this country. One of them I am for. The other one I am against. One theory interprets free enterprise as the right of a free people to exploit the rest for their own selfish advantage, the right to take advantage of the law, of public office, in order to dominate the economic field, create monopolies and drive independent competitors out of business. That is not the sort of free enterprise that I

believe in. The sort of free enterprise in which I believe is one that guarantees to every human being born into this world the right of equal opportunity, of an equal chance, subject to his own limitations, to pursue his legitimate and lawful ambitions and enterprises, to erect a castle of his own so long as he does not thereby tear down other castles that other human beings have the right to build. It guarantees the right to live as free men, to live in dignity and self-respect, in the full possession of all the powers and all the privileges that go with democracy and self-government.

J. Howard McGrath, Attorney-General of the United States—

We are fully determined that there will be no Communists or other subversives in our government. We are equally as determined that there will be no Gestapo witch-hunts

—that the basic civil rights of the individual will be securely protected and defended as guaranteed by the fundamental law of the land. Our free America that we inherited must be handed down in like manner to the future generations. There is still in many parts of our country a wide gap between democracy in theory and democracy in action. Civil rights, precious as they are, are not yet fully enjoyed by all of our people. Our Bill of Rights has not as yet found full effectiveness in our daily lives and practices. Citizen apathy, a grave citizenship problem, is not confined entirely to the voting booth. There is a vast difference between being just an American citizen and a *responsible* American citizen. The loyal citizen in action must endeavor not only to accept citizenship responsibility but must also make every possible effort to exercise that responsibility. It should always be remembered that freedom and democracy are never permanently secure; that eternal vigilance is still the only price of liberty, and that each generation must assume

its burden of guarding that freedom. It is incumbent upon all loyal citizens to see to it that our democratic forces always remain vigorous and meaningful and that our democratic system harbors no vulnerable spots.

Herbert Morrison, British Foreign Secretary—



The Communists believe in dictatorship. They do not believe in parliamentary democracy. Even if they say they believe in parliamentary democracy, even if they say they do not believe in dictatorship, I do not believe them. They still do believe in dictatorship. They still do oppose parliamentary democracy. They still believe in revolution by violence. They still believe that bloodshed is necessary. They believe in violent revolution and in preparing for it. You cannot mix our policy of government by persuasion, of winning elections by contesting them and convincing the electorate, with that policy which fights elections and prepares for violent revolution at the same time. You cannot make unity by trying to bring together things in strong conflict with each other. The trouble with Communists is that they have dual-purpose minds. They tell you one thing and mean another. Further, even outside the party they are a nuisance. There was a time when I was secretary to the London Labor Party. I had to spend half my time resisting the maneuvers and conspiracies of the Communist Party.

George Q. Lynch, president, Pattern Makers League of North America—

One can understand the apprehension of workers as they observe Big Business and big Army collaborating to render impotent the only bulwark against dictatorship—the free trade unions. Judging by accumulating surface evidence, there seems to be serious need for assurance that we will not invoke Nazi methods to defeat Communist ambitions in our troubled world.

All's Well That Ends Well

THE annual Junior Union spring picnic had been the topic of conversation for days before the big event took place.

"It's going to be the best picnic we've ever had," Shirley Dawson declared the day before. "I can't remember when we have had finer weather nor when we have had a better committee to take care of things."

"Nor I," said Lillian Spicer.

"Nor I," put in Joe Dolan with his characteristic grin, "because I have never served as chairman before."

"Oh, you!" squealed Shirley. "Where did you come from?"

"Out of the everywhere into the here," Joe replied blandly.

"Eavesdropper!" said Lillian.

"Hardly," returned Joe. "I was just passing by, and with normal hearing I overheard beautiful words with me as subject."

"You?" said Shirley. "I didn't say a word about you. I was speaking of your committee—with emphasis on committee."

"Committee chairman apologizes for taking all the credit," Joe said, grinning again.

"All's forgiven," Lillian said. "But tell us—is there anything we can do to help? Any last-minute thing that has been forgotten?"

"If so, I haven't remembered yet or haven't found out about it in order to forget," the boy said. "I'm to meet Jonesy here. He hasn't been around, has he?"

"Not since we've been here," answered Lillian. Then: "We've got to go. See you tomorrow morning."

"Let us know if something comes up we can help you with," called Shirley.

After the girls left, Joe waited patiently for a while. Then he began to pace up and down in front of the Junior Union headquarters. He was about to leave when he heard Jonesy whistle shrilly and turned to watch his friend pedal toward him.

"Gee, I'm glad you waited!" Jonesy gasped. "The most awful thing has happened! What are we going to do?"

"What's happened? Let me in on the news."

"I don't know what's to be done," moaned Jonesy as he slumped down on the bench, his bicycle on the grass beside him.

"Okay, Jonesy, now start at the beginning. What's happened and to whom or what?"

"Rob, Jack, Abe and Jeff and I were to see that signs were put up from here to the picnic grove so everyone would be sure to find the way. You remember we decided it would be easier that way, and also it would advertise the Junior Union a little bit."

"Sure," said Joe. "So what?"

"So we got our bikes, and we highball along, stopping every so often to put up a poster; and finally we make the last turn and are getting out the two signs to put up at the gateposts, and we notice a sign already tacked up, and there we are, reading this notice: 'Absolutely No Trespassing. Picnics and Outings Not Allowed on This Property. Entry Forbidden.'

Joe sat down beside his friend.

"But it must be a joke," he said.

"No. We went to the general store that's just this side of the grove and asked about it. The old fellow there said the property has changed hands, and the new owner seems to have a grudge against the world. What shall we do?"

"Did you take down our signs?" asked Joe.

"No, we left them up to the last turn. I think Shirley's grandparents live along there some place. I thought if we could call her and find out, maybe they would let us have our picnic on their place."

"She'll do it!" exclaimed Joe. "She and Lil were here just a short time

ago. Come on, let's get to Shirley's house and see what can be done."

"Yeah, and let's hurry because I left the other four down at that little store to wait to hear from me. We can call them if we can make the arrangements with Shirley's folks."

Shirley and Lillian had scarcely reached Shirley's home when they were called upon by the two boys.

Quickly Jonesy and Joe recounted the story. Shirley grasped the seriousness of the situation at once. She hastened to the telephone and called her grandmother. She explained to her the predicament they were in and asked if the Junior Union could meet at their place for the outing. Her grandmother thought it could be arranged but suggested that the girls and their friends come out to see just what place would suit them best.

"It's early afternoon," her grandmother said. "Tell the boys to come along, and we'll see what can be done."

They telephoned to Rob and the others at the general store and arranged to meet them at the farm of Shirley's grandparents.

Once there, Shirley's grandmother pointed out the sections of interest to the group, and they decided to have the picnic in the meadow beside the orchard because there would be sufficient shade during the middle of the day to keep cool. Of course, Grandmother had a large pitcher of lemonade to serve to her guests, and before the young people left she was voted member-at-large of the picnic committee and also invited to take part in the next day's festivities.

As they rode back to town, Joe said to Shirley and Lillian:

"You see, it is very important for the chairman to know people like you and to enlist your aid in making our picnic a success. I still claim to be a good chairman."

STUDENTS! Would you like to know more about the American Federation of Labor? If you are interested, send your name and address to THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, Room 407, A. F. of L. Building, Washington 1, D.C. Informative material will be mailed to you—free.

This Is a
BIG FIGHT.
*Life and Health
Are at Stake*



TO ALL A. F. OF L. MEMBERS:

At the Houston convention last September, we of the American Federation of Labor pledged ourselves to a continued fight for national health insurance, disability insurance and federal aid to train more doctors and strengthen local public health departments.

Determined to block these necessary and desirable measures, the American Medical Association has been spending millions of dollars in the last two years. The medical lobby is a spearhead of the reactionary forces.

We of the American Federation of Labor are determined to preserve and extend our hard-won gains in social security, health and welfare. In this important activity our invaluable ally is the Committee for the Nation's Health, a group of distinguished physicians and laymen. The Committee for the Nation's Health is working hard to aid the American Federation of Labor and Labor's League for Political Education to build the solid educational base for a mandate to achieve labor's health goals.

Every contribution to the Committee for the Nation's Health will help defeat the medical lobby's lies at the grass roots. Your contribution—large or small—to this Committee will pay off in better health and welfare legislation for all our 8,000,000 members and their families.

NOTE: Please make your check payable to Committee for the Nation's Health. Send check directly to President Green.

Honorary Vice-Chairman,
Committee for the Nation's Health